

1424.6.1.



7 AP 55

Frontispiece .



*Columbus describing the
Countries he had discovered.*

THE
WORLD displayed;
OR, A
CURIOUS COLLECTION
OF
VOYAGES and TRAVELS,
SELECTED FROM THE
WRITERS of all NATIONS.

IN WHICH THE
CONJECTURES and INTERPOLATIONS
OF

Several vain EDITORS and TRANSLATORS
ARE EXPUNGED;

Every Relation is made concise and plain,

AND

The Divisions of Countries and Kingdoms
are clearly and distinctly noted.

Embellished with CUTS.

The FOURTH EDITION, corrected.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N:

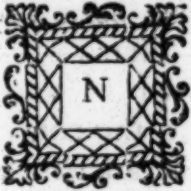
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M.DCC.LXXIV.





INTRODUCTION.

 NAVIGATION, like other arts, has been perfected by degrees. It is not easy to conceive that any age or nation was without some vessel, in which rivers might be passed by travellers, or lakes frequented by fishermen; but we have no knowledge of any ship that could endure the violence of the ocean before the ark of *Noah*.

As the tradition of the deluge has been transmitted to almost all the nations of the earth; it must be supposed that the memory of the means by which *Noah* and his family were preserved would be continued long among their descendants, and that the possibility of passing the seas could never be doubted.

What men know to be practicable, a thousand motives will incite them to try; and there is reason to believe, that from the time that the generations of the postdiluvian race spread to the sea shores, there were always navigators that ventured upon the sea, though, perhaps, not willingly beyond the sight of land.

Of the ancient voyages little certain is known, and it is not necessary to lay before the reader such conjectures as learned men

have offered to the world. The *Romans*, by conquering *Carthage*, put a stop to great part of the trade of distant nations with one another, and because they thought only on war and conquest, as their empire increased, commerce was discouraged; till under the later Emperors, ships seem to have been of little other use than to transport soldiers.

Navigation could not be carried to any great degree of certainty without the compass, which was unknown to the ancients. The wonderful quality by which a needle, or small bar of steel, touched with a loadstone or magnet, and turning freely by equilibration on a point, always preserves the meridian, and directs its two ends north and south, was discovered according to the common opinion in 1299, by *John Gola*, of *Amalphi*, a town in *Italy*.

From this time it is reasonable to suppose that Navigation made continual, though slow improvements, which the confusion and barbarity of the times, and the want of communication between orders of men so distant as sailors and monks, hindered from being distinctly and successively recorded.

It seems, however, that the sailors still wanted either knowledge or courage, for they continued for two centuries to creep along the coast, and considered every headland as unpassable, which ran far into the sea, and against which the waves broke with uncommon agitation.

The

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The first who is known to have formed the design of new discoveries, or the first who had power to execute his purposes, was Don *Henry*, the fifth son of *John* the first King of *Portugal*, and *Philippina*, sister of *Henry* the Fourth of *England*. Don *Henry* having attended his father to the conquest of *Ceuta*, obtained, by conversation with the inhabitants of the continent, some accounts of the interior kingdoms and southern coast of *Africa*; which, though rude and indistinct, were sufficient to raise his curiosity, and convince him, that there were countries yet unknown and worthy of discovery.

He therefore equipped some small vessels, and commanded that they should pass as far as they could along that coast of *Africa* which looked upon the great Atlantic Ocean, the immensity of which struck the gross and unskilful navigators of these times with terror and amazement. He was not able to communicate his own ardour to his seamen, who proceeded very slowly in the new attempt; each was afraid to venture much farther than he that went before him, and ten years were spent before they had advanced beyond cape *Bajador*, so called from its progression into the ocean, and the circuit by which it must be doubled. The opposition of this promontory to the course of the sea, produced a violent current and high waves, into which they durst not venture, and which they had

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not yet knowledge enough to avoid by standing off from the land into the open sea.

The Prince was desirous to know something of the countries that lay beyond this formidable cape, and sent two commanders, named *John Gonzales Zarco*, and *Tristan Vaz*, in 1418, to pass beyond *Bajador*, and survey the coast behind it. They were caught by a tempest, which drove them out into the unknown ocean, where they expected to perish by the violence of the wind, or perhaps to wander for ever in the boundless deep. At last, in the midst of their despair, they found a small island, where they sheltered themselves, and which the sense of their deliverance disposed them to call *Puerto Santo*, or the *Holy Haven*.

When they returned with an account of this new island, *Henry* performed a public act of thanksgiving, and sent them again with seeds and cattle; and we are told by the *Spanish* Historian, that they set two rabbits on shore, which increased so much in a few years, that they drove away the inhabitants, by destroying their corn and plants, and were suffered to enjoy the island without opposition.

In the second or third voyage to *Puerto Santo*, (for authors do not agree which,) a third captain, called *Perello*, was joined to the two former. As they looked round the island upon the ocean, they saw at a distance something

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something which they took for a cloud, 'till they perceived that it did not change its place. They directed their course towards it, and, in 1419, discovered another island covered with trees, which they therefore called *Madera*, or the isle of *Wood*.

Madera was given to *Vaz* or *Zarco*, who set fire to the woods, which are reported by *Souza* to have burnt for seven years together, and to have been wasted, 'till want of wood was the greatest inconveniency of the place. But green wood is not very apt to burn, and the heavy rains which fall in these countries must surely have extinguished the conflagration, were it ever so violent.

There was yet little progress made upon the southern coast, and *Henry's* project was treated as chimerical by many of his countrymen. At last *Gilianes*, in 1433, passed the dreadful cape, to which he gave the name of *Bajador*, and came back to the wonder of the nation.

In two voyages more made in the two following years, they passed forty-two leagues farther, and in the latter, two men with horses being set on shore, wandered over the country, and found nineteen men, whom, according to the savage manners of that age, they attacked; the natives having javelins, wounded one of the *Portuguese*, and received some wounds from them. At the mouth of a river they found sea-wolves in great numbers, and brought home many of their skins, which were much esteemed.

Antonio

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Antonio

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Antonio Gonzales, who had been one of the associates of *Gilianes*, was sent again, in 1440, to bring back a cargo of the skins of sea wolves. He was followed in another ship by *Nunno Tristram*. They were now of strength sufficient to venture upon violence, they therefore landed, and without either right or provocation, made all whom they seized their prisoners, and brought them to *Portugal*, with great commendations both from the Prince and the nation.

Henry now began to please himself with the success of his projects, and as one of his purposes was the conversion of infidels, he thought it necessary to impart his undertaking to the Pope, and to obtain the sanction of ecclesiastical authority. To this end *Fernando Lopez d'Azevedo* was dispatched to *Rome*, who related to the Pope and Cardinals the great designs of *Henry*, and magnified his zeal for the propagation of religion. The Pope was pleased with the narrative, and by a formal Bull conferred upon the crown of *Portugal* all the countries which should be discovered as far as *India*, together with *India* itself, and granted several privileges and indulgencies to the churches which *Henry* had built in his new regions, and to the men engaged in the navigation for discovery. By this Bull all other Princes were forbidden to encroach upon the conquests of the *Portuguese*, on pain of the censures incurred by the crime of usurpation. The

The approbation of the Pope, the sight of men whose manners and appearance were so different from those of *Europeans*, and the hope of gain from golden regions, which has been always the great incentive to hazard and discovery, now began to operate with full force. The desire of riches, and of dominion, which is yet more pleasing to the fancy, filled the courts of the *Portuguese* Prince with innumerable adventurers from very distant parts of *Europe*. Some wanted to be employed in the search after new countries, and some to be settled in those which had been already found.

Communities now began to be animated by the spirit of enterprize, and many associations were formed for the equipment of ships, and the acquisition of the riches of distant regions, which perhaps were always supposed to be more wealthy, as more remote. These undertakers agreed to pay the Prince a fifth part of the profit, sometimes a greater share, and sent out the armament at their own expence.

The city of *Lagos* was the first that carried on this design by contribution. The inhabitants fitted out six vessels, under the command of *Lucarot*, one the Prince's household, and soon after fourteen more were furnished for the same purpose, under the same commander; to those were added many belonging to private men, so that in a short time
twenty-

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twenty-six ships put to sea in quest of whatever fortune should present.

The ships of *Lagos* were soon separated by foul weather, and the rest, taking each its own course, stopped at different parts of the *African* coast, from *Cape Blanco* to *Cape Verd*. Some of them, in 1444, anchored at *Gomera*, one of the *Canaries*, where they were kindly treated by the inhabitants, who took them into their service against the people of the isle of *Palma*, with whom they were at war; but the *Portuguese* at their return to *Gomera*, not being made so rich as they expected, fell upon their friends, in contempt of all the laws of hospitality and stipulations of alliance, and, making several of them prisoners and slaves, set sail for *Lisbon*.

The *Canaries* are supposed to have been known, however imperfectly, to the ancients; but in the confusion of the subsequent ages they were lost and forgotten, 'till about the year 1340, the *Biscayners* found *Lucarot*, and invading it, (for to find a new country and invade it has always been the same,) brought away seventy captives and some commodities of the place. *Louis de la Cerda*, Count of *Clermont*, of the blood royal both of *France* and *Spain*, nephew of *John de la Cerda*, who called himself the Prince of Fortune, had once a mind to settle in those islands, and applying himself first to the King of *Arragon*, and then to *Clement VI.* was by
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the Pope crowned at *Avignon*, King of the *Canaries*, on condition that he should reduce them to the true religion; but the Prince altered his mind, and went into *France* to serve against the *English*. The Kings both of *Castile* and *Portugal*, though they did not oppose the papal grant, yet complained of it, as made without their knowledge, and in contravention of their rights.

The first settlement in the *Canaries* was made by *John de Betancour*, a *French* gentleman, for whom his kinsman *Robin de Braquemont*, admiral of *France*, begged them, with the title of king, from *Henry the Magnificent* of *Castile*, to whom he had done eminent services. *John* made himself master of some of the isles, but could never conquer the *Grand Canary*; and having spent all that he had, went back to *Europe*, leaving his nephew, *Massiot de Betancour*, to take care of his new dominion. *Massiot* had a quarrel with the vicar-general, and was likewise disgusted by the long absence of his uncle, whom the *French* king detained in his service, and being able to keep his ground no longer, he transferred his rights to *Don Henry*, in exchange for some districts in the *Maderas*, where he settled his family.

Don Henry, when he had purchased those islands, sent thither in 1424 two thousand five hundred foot and an hundred and twenty horse; but the army was too numerous to be maintained

maintained by the country. The king of *Castile* afterwards claimed them, as conquered by his subjects under *Betancour*, and held under the crown of *Castile* by fealty and homage; his claim was allowed, and the *Canaries* were resigned.

It was the constant practice of *Henry's* navigators, when they stopped at a desert island, to land cattle upon it, and leave them to breed, where neither wanting room nor food, they multiplied very fast, and furnished a very commodious supply to those who came afterwards to the same place. This was imitated in some degree by *Anson*, at the isle of *Juan Fernandez*.

The islands of *Madera*, he not only filled with inhabitants, assisted by artificers of every kind, but procured such plants as seemed likely to flourish in that climate, and introduced sugar canes and vines, which afterwards produced a very large revenue.

The trade of *Africa* now began to be profitable, but a great part of the gain arose from the sale of slaves, who were annually brought into *Portugal*, by hundreds, as *Lafitau* relates, and without any appearance of indignation or compassion; they likewise imported gold dust in such quantities, that *Alphonfus V.* coined it into a new species of money called *Crusades*, which is still continued in *Portugal*.

In time they made their way along the south coast of *Africa*, eastward to the country of the Negroes, whom they found living
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in tents, without any political institutions, supporting life with very little labour by the milk of their kine, and millet, to which those who inhabited the coast added fish dried in the sun. Having never seen the natives or heard of the arts of *Europe*, they gazed with astonishment on the ships when they approached their coasts, sometimes thinking them birds, and sometimes fishes, according as their sails were spread or lowered; and sometimes conceiving them to be only phantoms, which played to and fro in the ocean. Such is the account given by the historian, perhaps with too much prejudice against a Negroe's understanding; who, though he might well wonder at the bulk and swiftness of the first ship, would scarcely conceive it to be either a bird or a fish; but having seen many bodies floating in the water, would think it, what it really is, a large boat; and if he had no knowledge of any means by which separate pieces of timber may be joined together, would form very wild notions concerning its construction, or perhaps suppose it to be hollow trunk of a tree, from some country where trees grow to a much greater height and thickness than in his own.

When the *Portuguese* came to land, they increased the astonishment of the poor inhabitants, who saw men clad in iron, with thunder and lightning in their hands. They did not understand each other, and signs are

a very imperfect mode of communication even to men of more knowledge than the Negroes, so that they could not easily negotiate or traffick; at last the *Portuguese* laid hands on some of them to carry them home for a sample; and their dread and amazement were raised, says *Lafitau*, to the highest pitch, when the *Europeans* fired their cannon and muskets among them, and they saw their companions fall dead at their feet without any enemy at hand, or any visible cause of their destruction.

On what occasion, or for what purpose, cannon and muskets were discharged among a people harmless and secure, by strangers who without any right visited their coast, it is not thought necessary to inform us. The *Portuguese* could fear nothing from them, and had therefore no adequate provocation; nor is there any reason to believe but that they murdered the Negroes in wanton merriment, perhaps only to try how many a volley would destroy, or what would be the consternation of those that should escape. We are openly told that they had the less scruple concerning the treatment of the savage people, because they scarcely considered them as distinct from beasts; and indeed the practice of all the *European* nations, and among others, of the *English* barbarians that cultivate the southern islands of *America*, proves that this opinion, however absurd and foolish, however wicked and injurious, still continues to prevail. In-

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terest and pride harden the heart, and it is in vain to dispute against avarice and power.

By these practices the first discoverers alienated the natives from them, and whenever a ship appeared, every one that could fly betook himself to the mountains and the woods, so that nothing was to be got more than they could steal; they sometimes surprised a few fishers, and made them slaves, and did what they could to offend the Negroes and enrich themselves. This practice of robbery continued 'till some of the Negroes who had been enslaved learned the language of *Portugal*, so as to be able to interpret for their countrymen, and one *John Fernandez* applied himself to the Negroe tongue.

From this time began something like a regular traffick, such as can subsist between nations where all the power is on one side; and a factory was settled in the isle of *Arguin*, under the protection of a fort. The profit of this new trade was assigned for a certain term to *Ferdinando Gomez*, which seems to be the common method of establishing a trade that is yet too small to engage the care of a nation, and can only be enlarged by that attention which is bestowed by private men upon private advantage. *Gomez* continued the discoveries to cape *Catherine*, two degrees and a half beyond the line.

In the latter part of the reign of *Alphonse V.* the ardour of discovery was somewhat

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intermitted, and all commercial enterprizes were interrupted by the wars, in which he was engaged with various success. But *John II.* who succeeded, being fully convinced both of the honour and advantage of extending his dominions in countries hitherto unknown, prosecuted the designs of Prince *Henry* with the utmost vigour, and in a short time added to his other titles, that of king of *Guinea* and of the coast of *Africa*.

In 1463, in the third year of the reign of *John II.* died Prince *Henry*, the first encourager of remote navigation, by whose incitement, patronage, and example, distant nations have been made acquainted with each other, unknown countries have been brought into general view, and the power of *Europe* has been extended to the remotest parts of the world. What mankind has lost and gained by the genius and designs of this Prince, it would be long to compare, and very difficult to estimate. Much knowledge has been acquired, and much cruelty been committed, the belief of religion has been very little propagated, and its laws have been outrageously and enormously violated. The *Europeans* have scarcely visited any coast, but to gratify avarice, and extend corruption; to arrogate dominion without right, and practise cruelty without incentive. Happy had it then been for the oppressed, if the designs of *Henry* had slept in his bosom, and surely more happy for the oppressors. But there is reason to hope that

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that out of so much evil, good may sometimes be produced, and that the light of the gospel will at last illuminate the sands of *Africa*, and the deserts of *America*, though its progress cannot but be slow, when it is so much obstructed by the lives of Christians.

The death of *Henry* did not interrupt the progress of King *John*, who was very strict in his injunctions, not only to make discoveries, but to secure possession of the countries that were found. The practice of the first navigators was only to raise a cross upon the coast, and to carve upon trees the device of Don *Henry*, the name which they thought it proper to give to the new coast, and any other information for those that might happen to follow them; but now they began to erect piles of stone, with a cross on the top, and engraved on the stone, the arms of *Portugal*, the name of the King, and of the commander of the ship, with the day and year of the discovery. This was accounted sufficient to prove their claim to the new lands, which might be pleaded with justice enough against any other *Europeans*, and the rights of the original inhabitants were never taken into notice. Of these stone records nine more were erected in the reign of King *John*, along the coast of *Africa* as far as the Cape of *Good Hope*.

The fortress in the isle of *Arguin* was finished, and it was found necessary to build

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another at *S. Georgio de la Mina*, a few degrees north of the line, to secure the trade of gold dust, which was chiefly carried on at that place. For this purpose a fleet was fitted out of ten large and three smaller vessels, freighted with materials for building the fort, and with provisions and ammunition for six hundred men, of whom one hundred were workmen and labourers. Father *Lasitau* relates in very particular terms, that these ships carried hewn stones, bricks, and timber for the fort, so that nothing remained but barely to erect it. He does not seem to consider how small a fort could be made out of the lading of ten ships.

The command of this fleet was given to *Don Diego d' Azambue*, who set sail *Dec. 11, 1481*, and reaching *La Mina*, *Jan. 19, 1482*, gave immediate notice of his arrival to *Caramansa*, a petty Prince of that part of the country, whom he very earnestly invited to an immediate conference.

Having received a message of civility from the Negroe Chief, he landed and chose a rising ground proper for his intended fortress, on which he planted a banner with the arms of *Portugal*, and took possession in the name of his master. He then raised an altar at the foot of a great tree, on which mass was celebrated, the whole assembly, says *Lasitau*, breaking out into tears of devotion at the prospect of inviting these barbarous nations to the profession of the true faith. Being secure

cure of the goodness of the end, they had no scruple about the means, nor ever considered how differently from the primitive martyrs and apostles, they were attempting to make Profelytes. The first propagaters of Christianity recommended their doctrines by their sufferings and virtues; they entered no defenceless territories with swords in their hands; they built no forts upon ground to which they had no right, nor polluted the purity of religion with the avarice of trade or insolence of power.

What may still raise higher the indignation of a christian mind, this purpose of propagating truth appears never to have been seriously pursued by any *European* nation; no means, whether lawful or unlawful, have been practised with diligence and perseverance for the conversion of savages. When a fort is built and a factory established, there remains no other care than to grow rich. It is soon found that ignorance is most easily kept in subjection, and that by enlightening the mind by truth, fraud and usurpation would be made less practicable and less secure.

In a few days an interview was appointed between *Caramansa* and *Azambuc*. The *Portuguese* uttered by his interpreter a pompous speech, in which he made the Negroe Prince large offers of his master's friendship, exhorted him to embrace the religion of his new ally, and told him that as they came to form a league of friendship with him, it was necessary

cessary that they should build a fort which might serve as a retreat from their common enemies, and in which the *Portuguese* might be always at hand to lend him assistance.

The Negroe, who seemed very well to understand what the Admiral intended, after a short pause returned an answer full of respect to the King of *Portugal*, but appeared a little doubtful what to determine with relation to the fort. The commander saw his diffidence, and used all his art of persuasion to overcome it. *Caramansa*, either induced by hope or constrained by fear, either desirous to make them friends or not daring to make them enemies, consented with a shew of joy to that which it was not in his power to refuse, and the new comers began the next day to break the ground for a foundation of a fort.

Within the limit of their intended fortification, were some spots appropriated to superstitious practices, which the Negroes no sooner perceived in danger of violation by the spade and pick-ax, than they ran to arms and began to interrupt the work. The *Portuguese* persisted in their purpose, and there had soon been tumult and bloodshed, had not the Admiral, who was at a distance to superintend the unlading the materials for the edifice, being informed of the danger. He was told at the same time that the support of their superstition was only a pretence, and that all their rage might be appeased by
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the presents which the Prince expected, the delay of which had greatly offended him.

The *Portuguese* Admiral immediately ran to his men, prohibited all violence, and stopped the commotion; he then brought out the presents, and spread them with great pomp before the Prince; if they were of no great value they were rare, for the Negroes had never seen such wonders before, they were therefore received with extasy, and perhaps the *Portuguese* derided them for their fondness of trifles, without considering how many things derive their value only from their scarcity, and that gold and rubies would be trifles, if nature had scattered them with less frugality.

The work was now peaceably continued, and such was the diligence with which the strangers hastened to secure the possession of the country, that in twenty days they had sufficiently fortified themselves against the hostility of the Negroes. They then proceeded to complete their design. A church was built in the place where the first altar had been raised, on which a mass was established to be celebrated for ever once a day for the repose of the soul of *Henry*, the first mover of these discoveries.

In this fort the Admiral remained with sixty soldiers, and sent back the rest in the ships, with gold, slaves, and other commodities. It may be observed that slaves were never forgotten, and that wherever they went
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they gratified their pride if not their avarice, and brought some of the natives, when it happened that they brought nothing else.

The *Portuguese* endeavoured to extend their dominions still farther. They had gained some knowledge of the *Jaloffs*, a nation inhabiting the coast of *Guinea*, between the *Gambia* and *Senegal*. The King of the *Jaloffs* being vicious and luxurious, committed the care of the government to *Bemoin* his brother by the mother's side, in preference to two other brothers by his father. *Bemoin*, who wanted neither bravery nor prudence, knew that his station was invidious and dangerous, and therefore made an alliance with the *Portuguese*, and retained them in his defence by liberality and kindness. At last the King was killed by the contrivance of his brothers, and *Bemoin* was to lose his power or maintain it by war.

He had recourse in this exigence to his great ally the King of *Portugal*, who promised to support him on condition that he should become a Christian, and sent an ambassador accompanied with missionaries. *Bemoin* promised all that was required, objecting only that the time of a civil war was not a proper season for a change of religion which would alienate his adherents, but said, that when he was once peaceably established, he would not only embrace the true religion himself, but would endeavour the conversion of the kingdom.

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This excuse was admitted, and *Bemoin* delayed his conversion for a year, renewing his promise from time to time. But the war was unsuccessful, trade was at a stand, and *Bemoin* was not able to pay the money which he had borrowed of the *Portuguese* merchants, who sent intelligence to *Lisbon* of his delays, and received an order from the King, commanding them under severe penalties to return home.

Bemoin here saw his ruin approaching, and hoping that money would pacify all resentment, borrowed of his friends a sum sufficient to discharge his debts, and finding that even this enticement would not delay the departure of the *Portuguese*, he embarked his nephew in their ships with a hundred slaves, whom he presented to the King of *Portugal*, to solicit his assistance. The effect of this embassy he could not stay to know, for being soon after deposed, he sought shelter in the fortress of *Arguin*, whence he took shipping for *Portugal* with twenty-five of his principal followers.

The King of *Portugal* pleased his own vanity and that of his subjects, by receiving him with great state and magnificence, as a mighty monarch who had fled to an ally for succour in misfortune. All the lords and ladies of the court were assembled, and *Bemoin* was conducted with a splendid attendance into the hall of audience, where the King rose from his throne to welcome him. *Bemoin* then

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then made a speech with great ease and dignity, representing his unhappy state, and imploring the favour of his powerful ally. The King was touched with his affliction and struck by his wisdom.

The conversion of *Bemoin* was much desired by the King, and it was therefore immediately proposed to him that he should become a Christian. Ecclesiastics were sent to instruct him, and having now no more obstacles from interest, he was easily persuaded to declare himself whatever would please those on whom he now depended. He was baptized *December 3, 1489*, in the palace of the Queen with great magnificence, and named *John* after the King.

Some time was spent in feasts and sports on this great occasion, and the Negroes signalled themselves by many feats of agility, far surpassing the power of *Europeans*, who having more helps of art, are less diligent to cultivate the qualities of nature. In the mean time twenty large ships were fitted out, well manned, stored with amunition, and laden with materials necessary for the erection of a fort. With this powerful armament were sent a great number of missionaries under the direction of *Alvarez* the King's confessor. The command of this force, which filled the coast of *Africa* with terror, was given to *Pedro Vaz d' Acugna* surnamed *Bisagu*; who soon after they had landed, not being well pleased with his expedition, put

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an end to its inconveniences by stabbing *Bemoin* suddenly to the heart. The King heard of this outrage with great sorrow, but did not attempt to punish the murderer.

The King's concern for the restoration of *Bemoin* was not the mere effect of kindness, he hoped by his help to facilitate greater designs. He now began to form hopes of finding a way to the *East-Indies*, and of enriching his country by that gainful commerce: This he was encouraged to believe practicable, by a map which the Moors had given to Prince *Henry*, and which subsequent discoveries have shewn to be sufficiently near to exactness, where a passage round the south-east part of *Africa* was evidently described.

The King had another scheme yet more likely to engage curiosity, and not irreconcilable with his interest. The world had for some time been filled with the report of a powerful christian Prince called *Prester John*, whose country was unknown, and whom some, after *Paulus Venetus*, supposed to reign in the midst of *Asia*, and others in the depth of *Ethiopia*, between the Ocean and Red-sea. The account of the *African* Christians was confirmed by some *Abissinians* who had travelled into *Spain*, and by some Friars that had visited the Holy Land; and the King was extremely desirous of their correspondence and alliance.

Some obscure intelligence had been ob-
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tained, which made it seem probable that a way might be found from the countries lately discovered to those of this far-famed monarch. In 1486, an ambassador came from the King of *Bemin*, to desire that preachers might be sent to instruct him and his subjects in the true religion. He related that in the inland country, 350 leagues eastward from *Bemin*, was a mighty monarch called *Ogane*, who had jurisdiction both spiritual and temporal over other Kings; that the King of *Bemin* and his neighbours, at their accession, sent ambassadors to him with rich presents, and received from him the investiture of their dominions, and the marks of sovereignty, which were a kind of sceptre, a helmet, and a latten cross, without which they could not be considered as lawful Kings; that this great Prince was never seen, but on the day of audience, and then held out one of his feet to the ambassador, who kissed it with great reverence, and who at his departure had a cross of latten hung on his neck, which enobled him thence forward, and exempted him from all servile offices.

Bemoin had likewise told the King that to the east of the kingdom of *Tombut*, there was among other Princes, one that was neither Mahometan nor Idolater, but who seemed to profess a religion nearly resembling the Christian. These informations compared with each other, and with the current accounts of *Prester John*, induced the King

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an opinion, which, tho' formed somewhat at hazard, is still believed to be right, that by passing up the river *Senegal* his dominions would be found. It was therefore ordered, that when the fortress was finished an attempt should be made to pass upward to the source of the river. The design failed then, and has never yet succeeded.

Other ways likewise were tried of penetrating to the kingdom of *Prestor John*, for the King resolved to leave neither sea nor land unsearched 'till he should be found. The two messengers who were sent first on this design, went to *Jerusalem* and then returned, being persuaded that for want of understanding the language of the country, it would be vain or impossible to travel farther. Two more were then dispatched, one of whom was *Pedro de Covillan*, the other *Alphonso de Paiva*: they passed from *Naples* to *Alexandria*, and then travelled to *Cairo*, from whence they went to *Aden* a town of *Arabia*, on the Red-sea near its mouth. From *Aden*, *Paiva* set sail for *Ethiopia*, and *Covillan* for the *Indies*. *Covillan* visited *Canaver*, *Calicut*, and *Goa* in the *Indies*, and *Sofula* in the eastern *Africa*, whence he returned to *Aden*, and then to *Cairo*, where he had agreed to meet *Paiva*. At *Cairo* he was informed that *Paiva* was dead, but he met with two *Portuguese* Jews, one of whom had given the King an account of the situation and trade

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of *Ormus* : They brought orders to *Covillan*, that he should send one of them home with the journal of his travels, and go to *Ormus* with the other.

Covillan obeyed the orders, sending an exact account of his adventures to *Lisbon*, and proceeding with the other messenger to *Ormus* ; where having made sufficient enquiry, he sent his companion homewards with the caravans that were going to *Aleppo*, and embarking once more on the Red-sea, arrived in time at *Abissinia*, and found the Prince whom he had sought so long and with such danger.

Two ships were sent out upon the same search, of which *Bartholomew Diaz* had the chief command ; they were attended by a smaller vessel laden with provisions, that they might not return upon pretence of want either felt or feared.

Navigation was now brought nearer to perfection. The *Portuguese* claim the honour of many inventions by which the sailor is assisted, and which enable him to leave sight of land, and commit himself to the boundless ocean. *Diaz* had orders to proceed beyond the river *Zaire*, where *Diego Can* had stopped, to build monuments of his discoveries, and to leave upon the coasts Negroe men and women well instructed, who might enquire after *Prester John*, and fill the natives with reverence for the *Portuguese*.

Diaz, with much opposition from his crew, whose mutinies he repressed partly by soft-

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ness and partly by steadiness, sailed on 'till he reached the utmost point of *Africa*, which from the bad weather that he met there, he called *Cabo Tormentoso*, or the *Cape of Storms*. He would have gone forward, but his crew forced him to return. In his way back he met the *Victualler*, from which he had been parted nine months before; of the nine men which were in it at the separation, six had been killed by the negroes, and of the three remaining, one died for joy at the sight of his friends. *Diaz* returned to *Lisbon* in *December* 1487, and gave an account of his voyage to the King, who ordered the *Cape of Storms* to be called thenceforward *Cabo de Buena Esperanza*, or the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Some time before the expedition of *Diaz*, the river *Zaire* and the kingdom of *Congo* had been discovered by *Diego Can*, who found a nation of Negroes who spoke a language which those that were in his ships could not understand. He landed, and the natives, whom he expected to fly like the other inhabitants of the coast, met them with confidence, and treated them with kindness; but *Diego*, finding that they could not understand each other, seized some of their chiefs, and carried them to *Portugal*, leaving some of his own people in their room to learn the language of *Congo*.

The Negroes were soon pacified, and the *Portuguese* left to their mercy were well treated; and as they by degrees grew able

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to make themselves understood, recommended themselves, their nation, and their religion. The King of *Portugal* sent *Diego* back in a very short time with the negroes whom he had forced away; and when they were set safe on shore, the King of *Congo* conceived so much esteem for *Diego*, that he sent one of those who had returned back again in his ship to *Lisbon*, with two young men dispatched as ambassadors, to desire instructors to be sent for the conversion of his kingdom.

The ambassadors were honourably received, and baptized with great pomp, and a fleet was immediately fitted out for *Congo*, under the command of *Gonsalvo Sorza*, who dying in his passage was succeeded in authority by his nephew *Roderigo*.

When they came to land, the King's uncle, who commanded the province, immediately requested to be solemnly initiated into the christian religion, which was granted to him and his young son, on *Easter* day 1491. The father was named *Manuel*, and the son *Antonio*. Soon afterwards the King, Queen, and eldest Prince received at the font the names of *John*, *Eleanor*, and *Alphonso*; and a war breaking out, the whole army was admitted to the rites of christianity, and then sent against the enemy. They returned victorious, but soon forgot their faith, and formed a conspiracy to restore paganism; a powerful opposition was raised by infidels and apostates, headed by one of the King's-younger sons;

and

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and the missionaries had been destroyed had not *Alphonso* pleaded for them and for christianity.

The enemies of religion now became the enemies of *Alphonso*, whom they accused to his father of disloyalty. His mother, Queen *Eleanor*, gained time by one artifice after another, 'till the King was calmed; he then heard the cause again, declared his son innocent, and punished his accusers with death.

The King died soon after, and the throne was disputed by *Alphonso*, supported by the christians, and *Aquitimo* his brother followed by the infidels. A battle was fought, *Aquitimo* was taken and put to death, and christianity was for a time established in *Congo*, but the nation has relapsed into its former follies.

Such was the state of the *Portuguese* navigation, when, in 1492, *Columbus* made the daring and prosperous voyage, which gave a new world to *European* curiosity and *European* cruelty. He had offered his proposal, and declared his expectations to King *John*, of *Portugal*, who had slighted him as a fanciful and rash projector, that promised what he had not reasonable hopes to perform. *Columbus* had solicited other Princes, and had been repulsed with the same indignity; at last *Isabella* of *Arragon* furnished him with ships, and having found *America*, he entered the mouth of the *Tagus* in his return, and shewed the natives of the new country.

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When he was admitted to the King's presence, he acted and talked with so much haughtiness, and reflected on the neglect which he had undergone with so much acrimony, that the courtiers who saw their Prince insulted, offered to destroy him; but the King, who knew that he deserved the reproaches that had been used, and who now sincerely regretted his incredulity, would suffer no violence to be offered him; but dismissed him with presents and with honours.

The *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* became now jealous of each others claim to countries, which neither had yet seen; and the Pope, to whom they appealed, divided the new world between them by a line drawn from north to south, a hundred leagues westward from *Cape Verd* and the *Azores*, giving all that lies west from that line to the *Spaniards*, and all that lies east to the *Portuguese*. This was no satisfactory division, for the east and west must meet at last, but that time was then at a great distance.

According to this grant, the *Portuguese* continued their discoveries eastward, and became masters of much of the coast both of *Africa* and the *Indies*; but they seized much more than they could occupy, and while they were under the dominion of *Spain*, lost the greater part of their *Indian* territories.

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C O N T E N T S.

The VOYAGES of CHRISTOPHER
COLUMBUS to AMERICA.

CHAP. I. Columbus's *first Voyage*. *The Difficulties with which it was attended. His Discovery of the Lucayan or Bahama Islands, when the Men despairing of finding Land, were about to throw him overboard. His discovering Cuba and Hispaniola. His Return to Spain, with the Reception he met with from their Catholic Majesties.* Page 1.

CHAP. II. Columbus's *second Voyage*. *He sails with a more numerous Fleet, arrives at the Caribbee-Islands, and discovers Dominica, Marigalante and Guadalupe, in which last Place he lands, and endeavours in vain to trade with the Natives. He thence proceeds to several other Islands, the most remarkable of which are Montserrat, and St. John's, and arriving at Hispaniola, finds the Colony ruined, and the Spaniards destroyed by their own Folly; upon which he restores Things to a good Situation; quells a Mutiny, and having taken the most prudent Measures, sets sail upon other Discoveries, lands at Jamaica; meets with a Multitude of Islands, to which he gives the Name of the Queen's Garden; steers along the Coast of Cuba, and after suffering many Difficulties, returns to Hispaniola, where he finds every thing in great Confusion; but having made new Regulations for the Security of the Settlement, he sails for Spain.* P. 38.

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Settlers rejoin the Admiral, who after suffering several Hardships, run the Ships on Shore on the Coast of Jamaica; whence they send two Canoes to Hispaniola. The Hardships suffered by the People in the Voyage, and the Troubles the Admiral met with in Jamaica during his long Stay in that Island. The Spaniards sail thence to Hispaniola, and afterwards to Spain, where Columbus dies. Some Account of his Person and Character.

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THE
FIRST VOYAGE
OF

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS
TO
AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

Columbus's *first Voyage. The Difficulties with which it was attended. His Discovery of the Lucayan or Bahama Islands, when the Men, despairing of finding Land, were about to throw him overboard. His discovering Cuba and Hispaniola. His Return to Spain, with the Reception he met with from their Catholic Majesties.*



Christopher Columbus was born in the territory of Genoa, and being early taught navigation, lived by drawing charts for the sea-service. The skill of the Portuguese in maritime affairs at length engaged him to settle at Lisbon, where by his sobriety, temperance, and the regularity of his conduct, he acquired a considerable number of friends, married a wo-

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man of fortune, and for some time after, traded to the coast of *Guinea*.

Columbus, reasoning upon the spherical figure of the earth, thought it highly probable that the continent on one side was balanced by an equal quantity of land on the other, in which he was fully confirmed, by observing, when at the *Cape de Verd* islands, that the winds at a certain season constantly blew from the west, which he thought must be owing to a large tract of land on that side. And as the *Portuguese* had already discovered great part of the coast of *Africa*, and were filled with hopes of finding a passage to the *Indies*, he had no doubt that by sailing to the west he should discover a shorter way thither, and by that means obtain the spices and other rich commodities of those countries, much cheaper than they were sold to the *Venetians* in *Egypt*, after being brought by land thro' *Persia*.

Having strengthened his opinion by many observations drawn from reason, he laid them before the state of *Genoa*, with a proposal for making new discoveries; but that republic rejected his scheme from the fear of drawing upon it the resentment of several Princes; on which he addressed himself to *John II.* King of *Portugal*, who listened to his project, and amused him with the hopes of putting it in practice, 'till having drawn from him the essential part of his scheme, he, under the pretence of sending supplies to the *Cape de Verd* islands, fitted out a vessel, in order to make these discoveries, without allowing *Columbus* either the profit or honour he might justly have hoped to receive from them. His ungenerous enterprise, how-

ever, miscarried through a want of courage and conduct in the persons employed.

This unfair and clandestine conduct was so deeply resented by *Columbus*, that he resolved to leave *Portugal*, and that very year, 1485, sent his brother *Bartholomew* with the same proposals to *Henry VII.* King of *England*, while he himself prepared to go to *Spain* on the same account; but *Bartholomew* being taken and plundered by pirates in his passage, was, on his arrival at *London*, reduced to such extreme poverty, as rendered him unable to gain an audience of his Majesty, 'till by drawing and selling charts he acquired some reputation, and put himself into such an equipage as was necessary for his obtaining access to the King. This honour he obtained in the year 1488, when he met with all the success that could be desired, and actually entered into an agreement with *Henry VII.* on behalf of his brother, several years before *Christopher* closed with their Catholic Majesties.

Mean while *Christopher Columbus* met with many difficulties at the court of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, where his scheme being treated as an idle chimerical project, and himself exposed to ridicule, he was with difficulty prevented, by some who espoused his cause, from coming to *England*, to see what success his brother *Bartholomew* had met with. However, Queen *Isabella* at length approving his scheme, the articles of agreement were signed in 1492, by which *Columbus* was made Viceroy of the countries and Admiral of the seas he should discover; that he should have the tenth of all that was bought,

bartered, found or acquired, within those limits, after the charge of the conquest should be defrayed, together with an eighth part of all he should bring home with his fleet, in consideration of which he was to be at one eighth part of the expence in fitting it out.

The necessary preliminaries being thus adjusted, he was allowed three small vessels, the *Santa Maria*, commanded by himself; the *Pinta* under the command of *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, and the *Nina*, with square sails, commanded by *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, brother to the former; the latter furnishing one half of *Columbus's* share of the expence.

This small fleet, which carried only about 120 men*, set sail from *Palos* on the 3d of *August* 1492; but the next morning the rudder of the *Pinta* broke loose, which obliged the Admiral to lie by. This damage, which was supposed to have been contrived by the master, who was averse to the voyage, was however soon repaired. This accident some of the superstitious seamen would have interpreted as an ill omen; but *Columbus* wisely told them, that no omen could be evil where people were engaged in a good design. He endeavoured to divert their attention from such trifles by teaching them the principles of navigation, and to keep up their spirits by giving them right sentiments of the undertaking in which they were embarked.

The fleet reached the *Canaries* on the 11th and staid at the islands of *Grand Canaria* and

* *Herera* says that this fleet was manned by only 90, but many other authors of good authority represent the number as above.

Isabella 'till the 6th of *September*, in order to purchase another ship; but being disappointed, they sailed to the westward with very little wind. Three days after losing sight of land, many people on board wept bitterly from the apprehension that they should never see it more. To remove this childish despondency, which it was feared would infect the whole company, *Columbus* gave them the most confident assurances of prosperity and wealth, and at the same time thought proper to deceive them in his reckoning; for though they sailed eighteen leagues that day, he pretended that they had made no more than fifteen, resolving thus to disguise his reckoning during the whole voyage, that these spiritless fellows might not think themselves so far from *Spain* as they really were.

On the 12th of *September* he was 150 leagues west of *Ferro*, and at this distance from land discovered the body of a large tree, which appeared to have been long floating in the water. He here found a strong current setting to the north-east, and having run fifty leagues farther westward, he on the 13th perceived the needle varying half a point towards the north-east, and at day-break half a point more. This variation, which had never been observed before, filled him with great surprise; but his amazement was much increased, when sailing about 100 leagues farther he found that the needle varied at night about a point to the north-east, and in the morning pointed upon the north-east.

On the 14th, the people on board the *Nina* were surprised at the sight of a heron, and some

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tropic birds ; but the next day their astonishment was greatly increased at seeing the sea covered with green and yellow weeds that seemed to have been lately washed away from some rock or island. Hence they concluded that they were near land, especially as they found a live lobster floating amongst the weeds, and afterwards perceived the sea-water grow less salt as they advanced; they were also attended by great shoals of tunny fish.

On the 18th, *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, Captain of the *Pinta*, who was a-head, lay to for the Admiral, and informed him that he had seen a great number of birds flying westward, and thought he discovered land to the northward at 15 leagues distance ; but the Admiral, being convinced that he was mistaken, would not alter his course, though solicited by the people, who readily gave credit to such an agreeable illusion ; but the next day the Admiral seeing a number of sea-gulls, which he supposed could not fly far, began himself to conceive hopes of soon reaching land ; yet sounding with a line of 200 fathoms he could find no bottom. Three days after they took a bird like a heron, of a black colour, with a white tuft on the head, and web-footed ; they also saw abundance of weeds, and in the evening were visited by three small birds singing, which flew away at day-break, and confirmed *Columbus* in the opinion, that they could not be far from land. The next day they also saw a tropic bird, but met with such a quantity of weeds as filled them with apprehensions that their course would be impeded.

As the wind had hitherto been always right eastern, the people were under the most dreadful apprehensions that they should never have a fair gale to carry them back; but about this time it shifted to the south-west, which gave great satisfaction to the Admiral, as it afforded him room to convince the sailors of the vanity of their fears; yet in spite of all his reasons and remonstrances, they began loudly to murmur from the apprehension of perishing at sea in quest of a country that had no existence, and their discontent made them so outrageous, that a mutiny would probably have ensued had not a brisk wind sprung up at west-north-west, and demonstrated that they should always have a chance for returning. Their hope of obtaining land was also revived by seeing a pigeon fly over the ship, and by the sight of several small birds flying from the west.

In proportion as the people were elated by these signs, the greater was their mortification on their disappointment. They not only loudly complained against the Admiral, who, they said, had from a foolish and ill-grounded fancy formed the design of raising his own fortune and family at their expence, but caballed against him, maintaining that they had already proceeded far enough to shew their courage and perseverance, and that it was therefore high time to return to their friends and country, tho' they should be even obliged to compel *Columbus* to consent to it. They considered that the Admiral was a foreigner, and therefore would scarcely have interest enough at court to bring them to punishment for their disobedience, especially as
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he had powerful enemies, who, they knew, would embrace every opportunity of opposing his designs. In short, their terror and despair were raised to such a height, that some proposed throwing him overboard, and alledged that when that was done they should be secured from all farther danger, by their affirming, on their return to *Spain*, that he had fallen into the sea while he was making his observations. *Columbus*, who was not ignorant of this mutinous spirit, exerted all his abilities in order to remove it: he sometimes represented the duty they owed him, as being invested with a legal authority, which he was resolved to maintain at the hazard of his life; and at others reproached them with their pusillanimity and impatience, which even the most evident signs of their being near land could not remove. In short, he shewed the folly of their fears, and so far encouraged their hopes as to prevent their taking any resolution that could prejudice the important enterprize in which they were engaged.

On the 25th of *September*, about sun setting, *Pinzon*, whose ship was along side of the Admiral, suddenly cried out *Land! land!* and pointed towards the south-west, where there appeared something like an island at 25 leagues distance. This at once filled the men with such joy that they gave thanks to God with great fervour and devotion, and though *Columbus* was of a different opinion, he readily complied with their clamorous demand of sailing to it, and stood towards the supposed island during the greatest part of the night; but in the morning they saw all their hopes vanished, when their dissatisfaction re-

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turning, they renewed their complaints. The Admiral, however, with a steadiness and intrepidity peculiar to himself, persisted in the execution of his purpose.

On the 29th they saw several wagtails and gulls, many flying fishes also appeared, and sometimes fell into the ship, and in the afternoon they met with a large quantity of weeds, which the men fancied afforded a proof that there was ground near them under water, and that they should soon run upon it and perish.

On the 1st of *October* the pilot of the Admiral's ship was, by his own account, 578 leagues west of the island of *Ferro*, and though the distance according to *Columbus's* reckoning was 707, he winked at the mistake, lest the sailors should be more dejected on knowing their great distance from home. Two days after perceiving no birds, they imagined they had passed between some islands, and the sailors earnestly intreated the Admiral to steer either to the one side or to the other in quest of the land they imagined they had left. He however refused to comply with their intreaties, being unwilling to lose the favourable wind that carried him to the westward, and resolved not to take any step to lessen the reputation of his undertaking, which must have suffered in the opinion of his people, had he changed his course from that which he had all along assured them would terminate in the accomplishment of their wishes. This fortitude they termed obstinacy and madness, and were actually on the point of taking some desperate resolution to his prejudice, when their hopes were

were again revived by the arrival of upwards of forty sparrows, and other birds flying from the west.

On the 7th of *October* there appeared some imperfect signs of land ; but nobody would venture to mention it ; for tho' their Catholic Majesties had promised a pension of 30 crowns *per annum* for life, to him who should be so happy as first to discover land, yet in order to prevent their noisy exclamations at every trifling imagination of this sort, it was also decreed, that whoever should cry land three days before it was actually made, should forfeit the reward, even though it should be afterwards proved that he was the discoverer. In spite of this precaution the *Nina*, which being the best sailor kept always a-head, fired a gun, and hoisted her colours in token in land ; but the appearance of that mistleed them totally vanished at their nearer approach. The people were, however, the next day in some measure comforted under their disappointment by observing many flights of large and small birds, which proceeded from the west to the south-west, when the Admiral being fully persuaded that they could not go far to sea, in imitation of the *Portuguese*, who had discovered several islands by following the flight of such birds, altered his course and stood to the south-west ; for he had now run 750 leagues to the westward of the *Canaries*, within which space he himself expected to make land.

On the 8th of *October* they were visited by twelve singing birds of different colours, and saw many others, as jays, ducks, and gulls, flying to the south-west. The air also appeared fresh and

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odoriferous, but the pusillanimous seamen had been so often deceived, that these certain signs of their being near land could not suppress their murmurs, which, during the two following days, increased to such a degree, that the brave *Columbus*, in spite of all his endeavours, would not have been able much longer to have withstood the storm, which was ready to burst into open rebellion, when it was providentially dissipated by such manifest proofs of their approach to land as could not be disputed.

On the 11th of *October*, those on board the Admiral's ship saw a green rush together with a large rock-fish swim by the ship; the sailors of the *Pinta* discovered a cane floating, and, what was much more extraordinary, took up a staff curiously wrought, together with a small board, and at the same time the crew of the *Nina* perceived a branch of thorn full of red berries.

These objects having now assured the Admiral of their near approach to land, he at night, after prayers, reminded them of the mercy of God in granting them fair weather during such a long voyage, and exhorted them to be vigilant that night, as he expected to see land the next day, and not only mentioned the pension of 30 crowns, but promised to give a velvet doublet to him who should be the first discoverer. After this speech he retired to the great cabin, from whence perceiving what appeared to be a light on shore, he called to one of the sailors, who being desired to observe, acknowledged that he plainly saw it, and supposed it to be a candle or torch.

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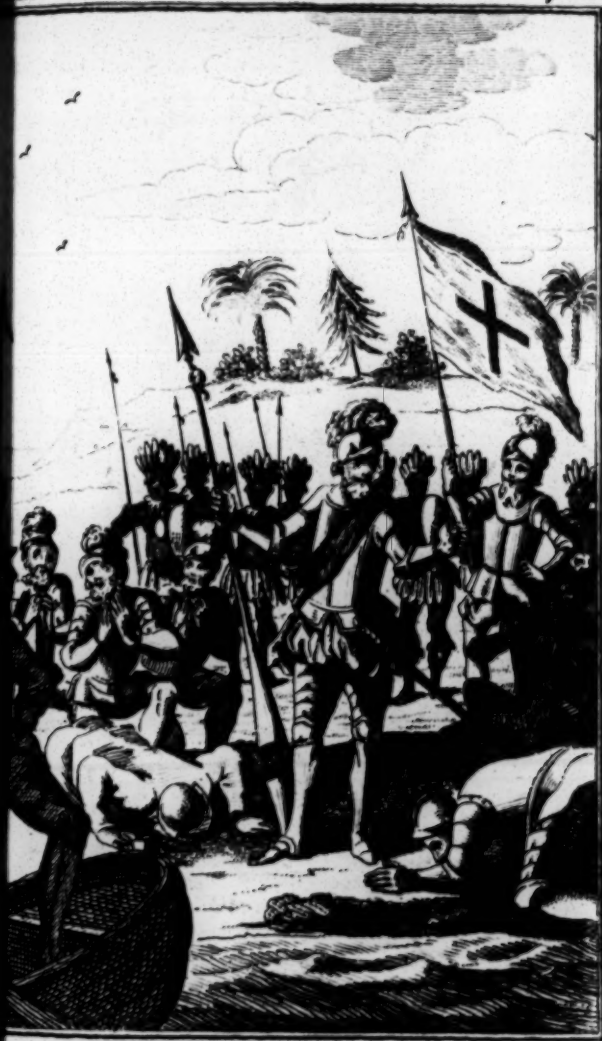
belonging to some fisherman or traveller, as it seemed to move, and to vanish and appear by turns. This increased their vigilance and caution, though they still pursued their course 'till about two in the morning, when the *Pinta*, being far a-head, gave the signal of land, which was first discovered by a sailor at the distance of two leagues; the pension, however, was given to the Admiral, who had before perceived the light. As they were now so near the shore, all the ships lay to, and the people waited for morning with the greatest impatience, in order to feast their eyes with what they had so long and so earnestly wished to behold.

Their hopes, however, were not now disappointed, for day no sooner dawned than they perceived an island about forty-five *English* miles in length, and almost one continued plain, covered with green trees; it was supplied with delightful rivers, and had a great lake in the middle. It was inhabited by a number of people, who being astonished at the sight of the ships, which they at first mistook for living creatures, ran down to the shore. The *Spaniards* were inflamed by the most eager curiosity to know the particulars of this interesting discovery, and the vessels were no sooner brought to an anchor, than the Admiral landed in his boat well armed, with the royal standard displayed, attended by the other two Captains in their respective boats, with the particular ensigns of this enterprise.

Immediately on their landing they kneeled on the shore, gave thanks to God, and shedding tears of joy, kissed the ground. *Columbus* then standing



Columbus
St.



*Columbus taking possession of
St. Salvadore in America.*

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standing up gave the island, which was called by the natives *Guanibani*, the name of *St. Salvador**, and took possession of it for their Catholic Majesties. This ceremony being performed, he was acknowledged as Admiral and Viceroy by the *Spaniards*, who now implored his pardon for the affronts and insults they had offered him, and joyfully swore to obey him as their Majesties' representative.

A multitude of the *Indians* were present at these transactions, and they appearing to be a very simple and quiet people, *Columbus* distributed amongst them strings of glass beads, red caps, and other things of small value, which they received with transport, and on his returning to his ship, some of them swam after him, while others followed in canoes, with javelins armed with fish-bones, spun cotton, parrots, and other things, to barter for such trifles as he had distributed among the rest. Few of these people seemed to be above thirty years of age, they were of a middle stature, well-shaped, and of an olive colour, with thick lank black hair, which was generally cut short above their ears, though others had suffered it to grow, and tied it up like the tresses of women. They had open countenances, very regular features, and high foreheads. The bodies of some and the faces of others were painted black, white, and red, though a few of them had only their noses and eye-lids coloured. But all of both sexes were entirely naked; and so little were they acquainted with *European* arms, that they handled a naked

* It is now called *Catt-island*.

sword by the edge, without any suspicion that it was capable of hurting them. Some of these people being asked by signs how they had got the wounds, the marks of which were still visible on their bodies, they answered in the same manner, that they received them in their own defence, when fighting against the inhabitants of other islands who came with a view to enslave them.

The next morning, being the 13th of October, many of the Indians came to the ships in their canoes, which were made by hollowing the trunk of a tree. Some of these were so small as to hold only one person, and others large enough to contain forty. They were rowed with paddles, and were so light that if they happened to be overset, the rowers could easily set them right again, and empty the water with calabashes, or dried gourds, which they carried with them for that purpose.

These *Indians* had no jewels nor any kind of metal except small plates of gold that hung at their nostrils, which, by their signs, they informed the *Spaniards* came from the south and south-west, where there were many countries and islands. They were so fond of possessing any thing belonging to the *Spaniards*, that some of them picked up bits of broken earthen ware that lay upon the deck, leaped into the sea and swam ashore with them. They were ready to exchange any thing in their possession for the most insignificant trifles, and some of them gave twenty-five pounds of well spun cotton for three small pieces of *Portuguese* brass coin not worth a farthing. Not that they believed these

things

things had much intrinsic value; but they seemed to prize them only because they belonged to white men, whom they considered as people descended from heaven, and of whom they desired to keep some memorial.

On the 14th of *October* the Admiral coasted the island in his boat towards the north-west, till he discovered a large bay or harbour sufficient to contain all the ships of *Europe*, being all the while followed both by sea and land by crowds of the inhabitants, who expressed their wonder and regard by a variety of gesticulations. At length arriving at a peninsula, he saw several of their houses and plantations, which appeared as pleasant as those of *Casile* in the month of *May*. However, finding that this was not the land he was in search of, he took seven of the *Indians* to serve as interpreters, and returning to his ships, sailed to other islands that were visible from the peninsula.

On the 15th of *October*, having sailed seven leagues, he arrived at the west end of another island which he found to be about ten leagues in length, and gave it the name of *St. Mary of the Conception*; but perceiving that the inhabitants differed but little from those of *St. Salador*, and that it produced nothing worth notice, he continued his course westward, and anchored upon the coast of another larger island, which extended north-west and south-east above 28 leagues. Before he reached this agreeable spot, which he named *Fernanda*, he took up an *Indian* whom he found at sea in a small canoe, furnishing him with a piece of their bread, a calabash filled with water, and a little earth resembling vermilion,

million, which was used by those people in painting their bodies. This *Indian* had also a small basket, in which was contained a string of glass beads and two small pieces of *Portuguese* money, from which it appeared that he was bound from *St. Salvador* to *Fernanda*, with the strange news of the Admiral's arrival; but the voyage being long he was weary with paddling, and desired to be taken on board. *Columbus* treated him courteously, gave him bread and honey to eat, made him drink wine, and on setting him on shore gave him some toys, in order that by his favourable report he might prepossess the natives of *Fernanda* in favour of the *Spaniards*. The success answered the Admiral's expectation; for the islanders, on hearing the favourable account given by the *Indian*, came in their canoes to barter with the same sort of commodities which were found at *St. Salvador*; but they appeared to have more sagacity, and made more advantageous bargains. The women wore a kind of cotton cloth round their middle. Their houses were built like tents, but had scarcely any furniture: and the beds in which they lay were formed of a kind of nets that hung from two posts. Here were some trees that seemed as if ingrafted by their bearing leaves or branches of four or five several kinds. There were plenty of fish of different shapes and colours, with some lizards, snakes, and dogs that could not bark.

Columbus, finding nothing valuable in this island, sailed on the 19th of *October* to another to which he gave the name of *Isabella*, in honour of her Catholic Majesty. This island far ex-

ceeded

ceeded the others in beauty and extent. It abounded with rivers, pleasant meadows and groves, and the prospect was diversified with hills, which the rest wanted: the ear was delighted with the songs of birds, which not only hopped from bough to bow, but even flew in such flocks as darkened the air. Near one of the lakes the *Spaniards* killed an alligator seven feet long with their spears, which, though at first they beheld with horror, they afterwards skinned and eat, this animal being esteemed by the *Indians* as most delicious food.

Columbus was no sooner acquainted with the produce of *Isabella*, and the manners of its inhabitants, than he set sail with a fair wind, for a large country to the south, which was extolled by the *Indians* under the name of *Cuba*, and arrived there on the 28th of *October*. It exhibited a pleasing variety of hills and dales, woods and plains, and from the extent of its coast and the largeness of its rivers, appeared to be of great consequence.

To obtain some intelligence of the natives, the Admiral cast anchor in a broad river, the banks of which were shaded by thick and tall trees that were at the same time adorned with blossoms and fruit entirely unknown in *Europe*. Soon after their landing they entered two houses which were deserted by the natives, who, being terrified at the appearance of ships, had fled; upon which the *Spaniards* re-imbarked without touching any of their effects, and continued their course westward 'till they arrived at the mouth of another river: But this being larger

than the other, *Columbus* sailed a considerable way up it. The banks were all along inhabited; but here also the natives fled with all the effects they could carry to the mountains, which arose to a considerable height, and were covered with lofty trees.

Columbus being sensible that if the inhabitants should thus continue to avoid him, he should never be able to learn the nature of the island, and being afraid of increasing their terror by landing a number of men, ordered two *Spaniards* attended by an *Indian* of *St. Salvador* and another of *Cuba*, who had boldly ventured to come aboard with his canoe, to travel up into the country, and to endeavour by their obliging behaviour to remove the terror of the people. In the mean time he directed his ship to be careened, on which occasion he observed that the only fuel of the country was mastic wood, which grew there in great plenty.

On the 5th of *November* the two *Spaniards* returned, accompanied by the *Indian* King and his son, and informed the Admiral that they had travelled twelve leagues into the country, where they found a town consisting of fifty wooden houses covered with straw, which contained about 1000 people; that they were met by the principal persons of the place, who took them by the arms and led them to the town, where they were allowed a spacious lodging, in which they were seated upon wooden benches in the form of some strange animals with their tails lifted up for them to lean upon, and had eyes and ears of gold. The *Spaniards* being seated on these benches, the *Indians* sat around them

on the ground, and came one by one to kiss the hands and feet of these strangers, imagining they had come from heaven; they at the same time treated them with boiled roots, which in their taste resembled chesnuts. After the men had thus fulfilled the rites of hospitality, they retired, to make room for the women, who also kissed their hands and feet, and entertained them with their homely fare. This favourable reception they owed to their two *Indian* attendants, who represented the *Spaniards* as a humane and generous people.

On their setting out to return to the ship, a great number of the natives proposed to accompany them; this offer they declined, and would accept of none but the Cacique or King and his son, under whose protection they were entertained with great respect at several petty towns; meeting many of the inhabitants, who always carried lighted brands to kindle the fires with which they roasted the roots that constituted their principal food. In return for these civilities, the two Princes were treated by the Admiral with great kindness and respect.

In this excursion they saw variety of birds, among which were partridges and nightingales; but no quadrupedes, except a kind of dogs which could not bark. A great part of the land was cultivated and produced, besides the bread-root, and maize or Indian corn, of which the natives made a very well tasted flour. Their principal manufacture was cotton, which they gathered from trees that grew without the least care or culture, and of this they made vast quantities of well spun yarn, but had no other use for it than forming

6 COLUMBUS'S DISCOVERY.

forming hammocks and short aprons for the women. The *Indians* afterwards carried great quantities of this cotton on board the ships, where they willingly exchanged a basket full of it for a thong of leather. They had no gold, pearl or spices, but pointed towards the east, where they intimated that there was a country plentifully stored with them.

In consequence of the above information, *Columbus* resolved to sail to, a place which the *Indians* called *Bobio*; but before he left *Cuba* he seized twelve *Indians* whom he intended to carry into *Spain*, which seizure was made with such little disturbance, that the husband of one of the women he had taken came to the ship in his canoe, and begged that he might be allowed to accompany his wife and children. This instance of affection gave great pleasure to the Admiral, who instantly granted his request, and gave orders for their being kindly treated.

On the 19th of *November*, *Columbus*, who had before endeavoured to leave the island, but was driven back, steered eastward for the island of *Bobio*, but the wind being still contrary, he was obliged to ply two or three days between the islands of *Cuba* and *Isabella*. In this interval *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, who had been informed by some *Indians* whom he had concealed in his ship, that *Bobio* abounded in gold, took advantage of the swiftness of his vessel, and left *Columbus* in the night, in order to anticipate his success, and ingross the treasure of that wealthy island to himself.

Columbus being thus abandoned by one of his consorts, and the weather growing so rough as
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country was very extensive, and in many respects resembled *Spain* both in the trees, plants, and fishes, he gave it the name of *Espaniola* or *Hispaniola*. He here saw a number of the natives, who, upon the landing of the sailors, fled from them with great precipitation; but they having at length taken a young woman who had a plate of gold hanging at her nose, she was conducted to the Admiral, who presented her with several trifles, such as small bells and glass toys, civilly dismissed her to the town where she dwelt, sending with her three *Spaniards*, and the same number of *Indians*.

The next day eleven men well armed went on shore and travelled four leagues up the country, where they found a town which consisted of 1000 houses, and though the inhabitants, as usual, fled at their approach, they soon returned, at the persuasion of a *St. Salvador Indian*, who followed them, and removed their fears by the favourable account he gave of the *Spaniards*, on whom they gazed with equal astonishment and awe: they even brought them food, and pressed them to stay in the town all night; the *Spaniards*, however, declined accepting this invitation, and returning to their ships, told the Admiral, that the country was fertile and pleasant, and the people whiter and handsomer than those they had hitherto seen; that they were courteous and tractable, and had let them know that gold was to be found farther to the eastward.

At this news *Columbus* immediately set sail, and between *Hispaniola* and a small island on the north coast, called afterwards *Tortuga*, he took

up

up, in a very rough sea, an *Indian* who was struggling with the waves in a little canoe, and giving him some presents of a small value, set him safe ashore on the coast of *Hispaniola*. This man informing his countrymen of the manner in which he had been treated, induced them to come on board, but they brought nothing with them of consequence, except some small grains of gold which hung at their ears and nostrils, of which they shewed by signs that there was a great quantity higher up in the country.

While the *Spaniards* were on shore the next day bartering with the Cacique or Sovereign of that district for a plate of gold, forty men in a canoe approached from the island of *Tortuga*, when the Cacique perceiving them, sat down with his people on the strand, as a signal that they should not commit hostilities, but notwithstanding this they landed; upon which he arose, and by his threats obliged them to re-imbark, and then giving a stone to one of the *Spanish* officers, made a sign for him to throw it at the *Tortugans*, to shew that he would espouse the cause of these strangers against the *Indians* of the canoe, who on their seeing this returned to the island.

On the 18th of *December* the same Cacique came to pay the Admiral a visit, carried in state on a palanquin and attended by 200 men, tho' both he and they were entirely naked. He made no difficulty of going on board *Columbus's* ship, and the Admiral being at dinner, entered the cabin without ceremony, attended by two old men who seemed to be his counsellors, who sat down at his feet. *Columbus* received him with great civility

civility and respect, and had provisions and wine set before him, which on his tasting he sent to some of his men who remained upon deck. After dinner, during which both he and the two old men spoke but little, he presented the Admiral with two thin pieces of gold and a wrought girdle; in return for these he received a string of amber beads, which the Admiral took from his own neck, a pair of red shoes, a counterpane, and a bottle of orange flower water, where-with this Prince and his two attendants were so delighted, that they signified to *Columbus*, that the whole island was at his disposal. The Admiral then shewed him the effigies of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* impress in a gold medal, which he viewed with admiration, and indeed shewed signs of astonishment at every thing he saw. In the evening he was, at his own desire, sent ashore in the ship's boat, and saluted with a discharge of several guns, the noise whereof filled him with amazement and terror; he was, however, so satisfied with his reception, that he ordered his people to entertain the *Spaniards* who conducted him to land, and returned home with the Admiral's presents carried with great pomp and ostentation before him.

On the 24th of *December*, *Columbus* weighed, and sailed to a promontory, afterwards called *Punta Santa*, where, the weather being calm, he anchored about a league from shore and retired to rest, which he had not enjoyed for two nights before; his example was followed by the crew, who, contrary to his repeated orders, had the folly to leave only a boy at the helm.

helm. This instance of neglect proved fatal; for about midnight the vessel was carried upon a ridge of rocks, before any on board were aware of the danger. The Admiral being the first who was awakened by the cries of the boy at the helm, ran upon deck, and perceiving the rocks, ordered the master and three sailors to leap into the boat and carry out an anchor astern; but instead of obeying his directions, they rowed to the other ship in order to preserve their own lives. Upon this *Columbus* immediately caused the vessel to be lightened, and the masts to be cut away; but all his endeavours were ineffectual, and the water ebbing, the beams of the ship opened. But while they were in this emergency the boat returned, the other ship refusing to receive the men who had deserted their duty. The Admiral then seeing no hopes of saving his own vessel, took the boat, and going with his men on board the other, the next morning dispatched messengers to inform the Cacique of this disaster, and to desire the assistance of the natives in unlading the ship. The Cacique, who condoled their misfortunes with tears in his eyes, immediately ordered his people to repair to the wreck in their canoes, and to obey *Columbus's* directions, and by their assistance all the valuable effects were carried on shore, and deposited in houses appointed for that purpose.

On the 26th of *December* this friendly Cacique, whose name was *Guacanagari*, paid another visit to the Admiral, whose loss he lamented with many expressions of sorrow; made him fe-

veral presents, and perceiving how fond the *Spaniards* were of gold, promised to send for a great quantity of that metal from a place called *Cebao*. Mean while a canoe with *Indians* from another island brought plates of gold to exchange them for bells, on which they set a very great value, and the seamen on shore traded with the natives of *Hispaniola* who came from the inland part of the country, and bartered gold for points and other trifles. Among the rest, an *Indian* came to the shore with a piece of gold that weighed four ounces, and holding it in one hand stretched out the other, and a hawk's bell being put into it, he let go the gold, and ran away, thinking he had cheated the *Spaniard*.

Columbus being greatly pleased both with this island and the manners of its inhabitants, resolved to settle a colony upon it, and was encouraged to take this step by many of his men voluntarily offering to settle there. While the *Cacique Guacanagari* instead of being disposed to take umbrage at their neighbourhood, considered them as valuable allies, who would protect him from the invasion of the *Caribbee Indians*, and in order to shew the importance of his friendship, *Columbus* gave orders, in the presence of this Prince, for firing a great gun at the wreck through which the ball penetrated, and fell into the water on the opposite side, to the great astonishment of the *Indians*, who believed that their guests knew how to dart the thunder from heaven, and therefore earnestly implored their protection. In compliance with this request

made

made to him by *Guacanagari*, *Columbus* ordered
 fort to be built of the timber of the wreck,
 and having furnished it with provisions, ammu-
 nition, small arms and cannon, manned it with
 a garrison of thirty-six men under the command
 of *Roderick d'Escovedo*, *Peter Gutieres*, and *James*
Arana, whom he warmly recommended to the
 favour and good offices of the friendly Cacique
 and his people. Having thus provided the fort
 with all necessaries, he caused a few houses to
 be built, named the place the town of *Na-*
visity, and resolved to return immediately to
Castile, lest some misfortune happening to the
 only ship he had now under his command, he
 should be for ever disabled from letting their
 Catholic Majesties know the important discove-
 ries he had already made, and the countries he
 had annexed to their dominions.

When every thing was ready for his depar-
 ture, he called those together who chose to be
 left upon the island, and addressing himself to
 them, desired them to return thanks to God for
 having carried them to such a country to plant
 his holy faith; and not to forsake him their al-
 mighty friend, but by living like good Christians
 to insure his protection; he exhorted them to
 love and obey their Captain; to respect *Gua-*
canagari, and to give no offence to any of his
 people; and that the opinion of their coming
 from heaven might be confirmed, they should
 offer no violence to any of the natives, observ-
 ing that it would be for their interest to barter
 with them fairly without covetousness; to en-
 deavour to learn their language, which would

be of great use, and to gain their friendship, which would render them happy and secure. In return for which he promised to intreat their Majesties to reward them for opening the way to that new world.

He set sail from the port of *Nativity* on the 4th of *January*, taking such notice of the land as would enable him to discover the mouth of the harbour in any future expedition; and sailing to a high mountain, he gave it the name of *Monte Christo*; but the wind being contrary, he made but little way, when two days after he fell in with the *Pinta*, under the command of *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, who going on board, strove to excuse his desertion, by pretending he had lost sight of the Admiral in the night, and by alledging other frivolous excuses; but tho' *Columbus* plainly saw the fallacy of all these pretences, he chose to disguise his sentiments rather than run any risk of prejudicing the common cause, by giving rise to a dangerous dissention.

Pinzon had sailed to a river fifteen leagues to the east of the port of *Nativity*, where he had spent sixteen days in bartering with the natives for gold, of which he had procured a considerable quantity; one half whereof he distributed amongst his crew in order to obtain popularity, and to gain their consent to keep the remainder for his own use. He afterwards anchored near *Monte Christo*, the wind not permitting him to proceed farther, and then he sailed in his boat up a river to the south-west of the mount, where discovering some gold dust among the sand, he called it the *Golden River*.

On the 13th of *January*, being near the cape called *Enamorado*, *Columbus* sent his boat on shore, where there stood some *Indians*, with all the signs of consternation and great fierceness in their countenances. They were armed with bows and arrows, and other weapons, and made a shew of opposition; but by the mediation of a *St. Salvador Indian*, they were brought to a kind of conference. One of them then ventured on board the Admiral's ship, but appeared extremely savage both in his speech and aspect, which was smutted with charcoal. This man having answered several questions, partly by signs, and partly by means of the *Indian* interpreter, he was feasted, and then set ashore with presents of glass beads and bits of red and green cloth, that he might persuade his countrymen to bring gold in exchange for such trifles.

At the place where he was set on shore there were 50 men with long hair, adorned with plumes of parrots feathers, and being armed with bows and arrows, refused to trade with the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the persuasions of their countrymen; but on the contrary treated them with scorn, and even began to commit hostilities. The *Spaniards*, who were but seven in number, seeing them advance with fury in their looks, met them half way, and boldly charging them, shot one with an arrow and wounded another with a sword, on which they instantly fled. *Columbus* was far from being displeased at this skirmish, which he imagined would give them such an high opinion of the bravery of his men

as would prevent their making any attempts to the prejudice of the settlement at the *Nativity*.

On the 16th of *January* the Admiral set sail with his two ships for *Spain*, but after having enjoyed a favourable gale 'till they were within 263 leagues to the westward of *Ferro*, they were overtaken by such a tempest on the 14th of *February*, that the sea running mountains high, they were unable to work their vessels, and were tossed about at the mercy of the waves. During this storm, the two ships were separated when the seamen in each, concluding that those in the other had perished, betook themselves to acts of devotion, and the Admiral vowed to go a pilgrimage to our Lady of *Guadalupe*; but the storm still increasing, the whole crew of the Admiral's ship joined in a vow to walk bare-foot and in their shirts to some church dedicated to the blessed Virgin, in the first Christian country on which they should land. They had great scarcity of provisions, and their ship wanting ballast, was in danger of being overset. To remedy this last inconvenience, *Columbus* ordered his casks to be filled with sea-water, and that his discovery might have some chance of being known, in case he and his men perished, he wrote a brief account of it upon two skins of parchment which he wrapt in oil-cloths covered with wax, and having inclosed them in two separate casks, had them thrown into the sea. This must be allowed to have been an extraordinary instance both of his prudence and fortitude.

On the 15th of *February*, at which time the storm still continued, one of the sailors discovered

land.

land, which the pilot judged to be the rock of *Lisbon*, though the Admiral imagined it to be one of the *Azores*; and soon after they discovered another land, which proved to be *St. Mary*, one of the *Azore* islands, where they with great difficulty cast anchor four days after. The Admiral being lame in both his legs in consequence of the fatigue he had undergone, many of the inhabitants came on board with fresh provisions and compliments from the Governor, expressing their amazement at the success of the expedition, and seeming to rejoice at *Columbus's* discovery. They were also surprized to see that they had outlived the storm, and letting the sailors know that there was in that neighbourhood an hermitage dedicated to the blessed Virgin, the Admiral and his crew resolved to perform their vow, by walking thither barefoot. To fulfil this penance he sent his boat on shore with one half of the company, with orders to return immediately, that the rest might succeed them in the same kind of devotion; but the first company had no sooner undrest themselves and begun their procession, than they were attacked and made prisoners by the Governor, who lay in ambush with some of his people for that purpose.

Columbus, having in vain waited from day-break 'till noon for the return of the boat, began to suspect foul play, and not being able to discover the hermitage, he sailed round a point, by which means he obtained a full view of it, and perceiving several *Portuguese* on horseback alight and enter his boat, as he imagined, to attack the vessel, he ordered the sailors to be upon

upon their guard. He hoped that the commander of these men would come on board, in which case he resolved to detain him as an hostage; but the *Portuguese* not daring to advance beyond a certain distance, he demanded the reason of their committing such an outrage upon his men, who had gone on shore upon the faith of a safe conduct, and let them know that the King of *Portugal* would certainly be offended at this act of hostility committed against the subjects of their Catholic Majesties with whom he was in alliance. To this the *Portuguese* Captain answered, that what they had done was by the King's express orders, which giving *Columbus* reason to imagine that there was a breach between the two crowns, and calling all his people to bear witness to what they had heard, he again directed his discourse to the *Portuguese*, and swore that he would never quit his ship 'till he had seized a hundred *Portuguese*, and destroyed the whole island.

He now returned to the port he had left; but the next day the wind increasing he lost his anchors, and was obliged to stand out to sea towards the island of *St. Michael*, though not without being exposed to great danger from his having only three able seamen on board, the rest being landmen, *Indians*, and boys. The weather being mild, the next day he endeavoured to recover the island of *St. Mary*, which he reached on the 21st, and soon after his arrival, a boat was sent to him with five men and a notary, who, in the governor's name, desired to know whence the ship came, and whether he had really the King of *Spain's* commission. Being satisfied in these

these particulars they returned and caused the Spaniards to be released; for the King of Portugal had sent orders to all his governors to secure the Admiral's person; but as this scheme did not succeed, on account of *Columbus's* staying on board, it was thought proper to dismiss the prisoners. The Admiral, having recovered his men, departed from the island of *St. Mary* on the 24th of *February*, with a very favourable wind; but on the 3d of *March* he was exposed to another tempest, during which his sails were split, and he narrowly escaped being wrecked on the rock of *Lisbon*, which they accidentally discovered at midnight; but having weathered with great difficulty, he was the next day obliged to come to an anchor in the river *Tagus*, on which he immediately sent an express by land to their Catholic Majesties with the news of his arrival, and another to the King of Portugal, to desire leave to cast anchor before the city, as he did not think himself safe in his present station.

On the 5th of *March* the Master of a guard ship, with a boat filled with armed men, came up to *Columbus*, and ordered him to give an account of himself to the King's officers, as was customary with all the vessels that entered the river. To this *Columbus* replied, that he was the King of *Spain's* Admiral, and would not degrade himself so far as to send the most considerable person on board his ship on such an errand. The Portuguese, finding him resolute, desired to see the King's letter, which being complied with, they returned to their ship, and made proper report to *Alvaro d' Acunha*, who soon after

after came on board *Columbus's* ship, attended with fifes, drums, and trumpets, and congratulated him on his return with many expressions of friendship. The nature of *Columbus's* voyage was no sooner known at *Lisbon* than the people were filled with the utmost curiosity to see the *Indians*, and to learn the particulars of his amazing discovery; the whole river was therefore seen covered with boats filled with people, some of whom praised God for *Columbus's* success, while others lamented the hard fate of their nation which had lost such a prize through the incredulity or avarice of their King.

His Majesty having received the Admiral's letter, gave orders for his being presented with all kinds of refreshments and necessaries gratis, and at the same time wrote to him to congratulate him upon his happy return, and to let him know that he desired to see him before he left his dominions. *Columbus* at first doubted whether he ought to accept this invitation; but considering that *Spain* and *Portugal* were at peace, and that he had been already treated by the King with uncommon respect, he resolved to wait on his *Portuguese* Majesty, who then resided at *Val Paraiso*, a place nine leagues from *Lisbon*; he therefore set out on *Saturday* the 9th of *March*, when the King ordered his whole court to go out and meet him, and *Columbus* being conducted into the Royal presence, his Majesty insisted on his putting on his cap, and being seated in his presence, he heard with seeming pleasure the particulars of the voyage, and offered to supply him with every thing he desired; yet observed, that as *Columbus* was before in his ser-

vice

ice, the conquest of right belonged to him; but the Admiral modestly gave his reasons for being of a contrary opinion; to which the King replied, that "it was very well, and he did not doubt but that justice would be done."

Columbus having staid all *Sunday* and part of *Monday*, took his leave, after his Majesty had in vain attempted, by very considerable offers, to re-engage him in his service. On his return, he was attended by many persons of rank, and passing by a monastery in which was the Queen, her Majesty desired to see him, and received his visit in a respectful manner. The same night a gentleman arrived from the King to inform him, that if he chose to go to *Castile* by land, he would accompany him, and provide him with accommodations on the road, as far as the frontiers of *Portugal*. This offer he declined with suitable acknowledgements, and setting sail on *Wednesday* the 13th of *March*, 1493, arrived on the *Friday* following at *Saltes*, and came to anchor in the port of *Palos*, whence he had departed on the 3d of *August* in the preceeding year.

Columbus was received on his landing by all the people in procession, giving thanks to God for his success, which it was hoped would greatly redound to the spreading of Christianity, and the advantage of their Catholic Majesties. *Pinzon* had already arrived in *Galicia*, and had resolved to carry in person the agreeable news of the discovery to court, when he received orders which forbade his coming without the Admiral, under whose command he had been sent on the expedition; and this mortifying disappointment made

36 COLUMBUS'S DISCOVERY

made such an impression upon him, that he immediately fell sick, and returning to the place of his birth, he in a few days after died of grief and vexation.

In the mean time *Columbus* set out for *Seville* on his way to *Barcelona*, where their Majesties then resided, and the roads were crouded with people of all ranks, who flocked to see him and the *Indians* in his train. He arrived at *Barcelona* about the middle of *April*, and was received by the whole court and city in the most solemn manner. The streets could not contain the multitudes that pressed to see him with the *Indians* and curiosities he brought which were carried uncovered. Their Majesties, to do him honour, ordered the royal throne to be placed in public, on which they seated themselves with Prince *John* under a canopy of cloth of gold. The Admiral was introduced by several gentlemen, and on his approaching the throne, the King rose up and gave him his hand to kiss, when *Columbus* kneeling his Majesty desired him to rise, ordered a chair to be brought him, and made him sit by his side. *Columbus* then gave an account of his voyage, his discoveries, and his hopes of finding still more extensive and important countries; shewed them the *Indians*, as they appeared in their native countries, and gave them a specimen of every thing he had brought from the new world. When he had done speaking, their Majesties rose, and kneeling down with their hands lifted up, and with tears in their eyes, returned thanks to God, which was immediately followed by

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Columbus
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*Columbus recounting his discoveries
to the King and Queen of Spain.*

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the choristers of the chapel singing the *Te Deum*.

In short, *Columbus* was treated as a Grandee of the first rank who had performed the most important services for his country, and when the King rode about *Barcelona*, he would have him constantly by his side; an honour which had been conferred upon none but Princes of the Blood. He was always gratified with new patents, which confirmed and enlarged the privileges he had before obtained. The more his discoveries were canvassed by the council, the more important they appeared, and therefore their Catholic Majesties not only agreed that he should continue them, but dispatched an Ambassador to Pope *Alexander VI.* to desire him to exert his apostolic authority in their favour, and to grant them an exclusive title to the countries that had been, or should be discovered. The Pope complied with his request, and drawing a line from pole to pole, at the distance of 100 leagues westward from the *Azores*, or from the *Cape de Verd Islands*, bestowed on their Catholic Majesties the dominions of all the Sovereigns and States in that extensive part of the globe.



CHAP. II.

COLUMBUS'S *second Voyage*. He sails with a more numerous Fleet, arrives at the Caribbee-Islands, and discovers Dominica, Marigalante, and Guadalupe, in which last Place he lands, and endeavour, in vain to trade with the Natives. He thence proceeds to several other Islands, the most remarkable of which are Montserrat and St. John's, and arriving at Hispaniola, finds the Colony ruined, and the Spaniards destroyed by their own Folly; upon which he restores Things to a good Situation, quells a Mutiny, and having taken the most prudent Measures, sets sail upon other Discoveries, lands at Jamaica; meets with a Multitude of Islands, to which he gives the Name of the Queen's Garden; steers along the Coast of Cuba, and after suffering many Difficulties, returns to Hispaniola, where he finds every thing in great Confusion; but having made new Regulations for the Security of the Settlement, he sails for Spain.

IN a little time such measures were taken for Columbus's second expedition, that seventeen vessels were fitted out for farther discoveries, and the settlement of colonies. The thirst of gold, and the success of the first voyage drew together such a multitude of volunteers, that a great number was rejected, the Admiral resolving to take no more than fifteen hundred persons amongst whom there were many artificers and labourers.

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Columbus having provided all kinds of utensils, with a large stock of the trifles most agreeable to the *Indians*, and having taken on board cows, horses, asses, and other animals for breeding in the new plantations, with the seeds of plants, trees, and all kinds of grain, &c. he sailed from the road of *Cadiz* on the 25th of *September*, 1493, and stood south-west for the *Canary Islands*. He arrived at the *Grand Canaria* on the 2d of *October*, and on the 5th anchored at *Gomera*, where he took in water, wood and cattle, and in particular eight sows, from which were produced all the swine now in the *West-Indies**.

On the 7th he continued his voyage for the *Indies*, after his having delivered his orders sealed up, which were not to be opened unless the fleet should be separated by stress of weather: They now ran 400 leagues west of the *Canaries* without meeting with any of those weeds which they had seen in their first voyage.

On the 2d of *November*, *Columbus* perceiving a great alteration in the winds, and there falling a violent shower of rain, concluded that he was seven leagues to the westward of a high mountainous island which he named *Dominica*†, from its being discovered on a *Sunday*. Three other islands were discovered much about the same time, when the people assembling on the poop,

* They received the name of *West-Indies* from *Columbus's* sailing to them by the west, and expecting to find the spices at that time brought from the east by the way of the *Red-Sea*.

† *Dominica* is now subject to *England*, but is very little cultivated.

returned thanks to God for their wonderful success, in having sailed near 800 leagues in the space of twenty days. The Admiral finding a convenient place for anchoring on the east side of *Dominica*, stood over to another island which he called *Marigalante*, after his own ship, and having landed, he with the usual solemnity took possession of it for their Catholic Majesties, as he had before done with respect to all the other islands he had discovered.

On the 4th of *November*, he sailed to another considerable island, which he named *St. Mary of Guadalupe* †, in consequence of a promise he had made to the friars belonging to a convent of that name. He there, at two leagues distance, perceived a very high rock which terminated in a point, whence gushed a large torrent of water, which fell with a prodigious noise. Here he landed some men, who went to a town which at their approach was abandoned by all the inhabitants except some of the children, whose arms the *Spaniards* tied a few baubles as a mark of friendship. They here found geese like those of *Europe*, a great number of large parrots, and other birds, pompions, ananas, pine-apples, of exquisite taste and flavour: they also found bows and arrows, cotton, and several other things, which they left behind them in order to give the owners a good opinion of their morals.

The next day the Admiral sent two boats on shore with orders, if possible, to take a few of the

† This is one of the largest of the *Caribbee-Islands*.

atives, from whom he might obtain some important information; and these returned with two young men, who by their signs let him know that they were born in another island, and were taken prisoners by those of *Guadalupe*, who were called *Caribbees*. The boats again going on shore for some of the men they had left, found six women who had fled to them, and desired to be carried on board, which being done, the Admiral gave them bells and beads, and then dismissed them, though by their signs they shewed an ardent desire to stay; but they were no sooner landed than the *Caribbees* robbed them of their ornaments in the very sight of the *Spaniards*. The next time the boat's crew landed, these poor creatures leapt into the boat, and by the most expressive gestures implored protection from the cruelty of the islanders, who, they signified, had kept their husbands in slavery. This information occasioned their being brought to the Admiral, whom they gave to understand, that towards the south, there were many islands, and a large continent. *Columbus* would have immediately left *Guadalupe*, had he not been informed, that the captain of one of the ships had, without his permission, landed with eight men before it was light, and was not yet returned; he therefore sent several of his people on shore with trumpets and muskets, the noise of which might be heard through the woods; and this search proving fruitless, he sent another detachment of forty men, commanded by a captain, with orders to proceed through the country, and make observations on its productions. They found abundance of cotton,

ton, some trees which in taste and smell resembled cinnamon, and also frankincense, ginger, sanders, aloes, and mastic. They likewise saw nightingales, daws, partridges, geese, herons, kites, and falcons. While they were thus employed, the stragglers returned of their own accord, when *Columbus* ordered their captain to be put in irons, and punished the rest by shortening their allowance of provisions. The Admiral himself then landing, found great quantities of cotton, spun and unspun, with many human skulls and bones hung up in baskets; and observed that the natives were better accommodated with lodging, provisions, and other necessities than those of the other islands he had before discovered.

On the 10th of *November*, the Admiral weighed anchor, and sailing with his whole fleet towards the north-west in search of *Hispaniola*, passed an island, to which, on account of its height, he gave the name of *Montserrat**; and having passed by *St. Mary Redonda*, and *St. Maria la Antigua*†, he discovered several other islands, near one of which he cast anchor, and called it *St. Martin*. His people here seized four men and three children, but as the boat was putting off with them from shore, they met with a canoe in which were four men and

* This island, which is one of the smallest of the *Cariibes*, is now subject to the *English*.

† Now called *Antigua*. This island, which is 20 miles long and near as many broad, is also subject to *England*. Its chief produce is sugar; but as it has the misfortune to have no brooks or rivers, the inhabitants save the rain water in cisterns and reservoirs.

one woman, who finding it impossible for them to escape, put themselves in a posture of defence, when the woman shot an arrow with such force and dexterity, that it passed through a strong target; but the *Spaniards* endeavouring to board them, overset the canoe, on which the *Indians* betook themselves to swimming, and one of them used his bow and arrow in the water, with the same dexterity as if he had been on dry land.

The Admiral again setting sail continued his course west north-west, leaving to the northward above fifty islands, the largest of which he called *St. Ursula*, and the others the *Eleven Thousand Virgins*. He then came to an island to which he gave the name of *St. John Baptist*, and having anchored in a bay on the west side of it, his men caught several kinds of fish, as skate, soles, pilchards and shads; and also saw falcons, and some shrubs resembling wild vines. Some of the men afterwards landed, when they perceived several houses with a square in their front, from which was a spacious road down to the sea, flanked on both sides with towers made of cane, the tops of which were curiously interwoven with greens, and at the end of the road next the sea, was raised a lofty gallery or balcony capable of containing ten or twelve persons.

On the 21st, the Admiral arrived in the bay of *Samana*, on the north side of *Hispaniola*, and immediately sent on shore one of the *Indians*, a native of that part of the country, whom he had carried into *Spain*, and who, being converted to the Christian faith, undertook for the submission of all his countrymen.

The

The Admiral, continuing his voyage to the town of the *Nativity*, was visited at Cape *Ango* by some *Indians*, who came on board to barter their commodities for those of the Christians, and coming to an anchor in the port of *Monte Christo*, some of his people were sent on shore in a boat, when to their great surprize, they saw, at a small distance, the bodies of two men with a rope about their necks made of a kind of broom, and their arms extended upon a piece of wood in the form of a cross; but though they could not discern whether they were *Europeans* or *Indians*, they considered this as an ill omen,

The next day, which was the 26th, the Admiral sent several persons on shore in different places, when many of the *Indians* went to them with great confidence and appearance of friendship, and pronounced several *Spanish* words they had learnt from the settlers, which eased the Admiral of the apprehensions he had begun to conceive, judging that they would not have behaved with such freedom and unconcern, had they been conscious of their having injured the men he had left behind him; but the next day put an end to his doubts; for on his anchoring near the town of the *Nativity*, some *Indians* in a canoe came to the fleet inquiring for the Admiral, but refused to come on board 'till they saw him, from them he learnt that some of the Christians, left there, died of distempers, and the rest were separated and gone to other countries, but though *Columbus* suspected foul play, he for the present concealed his suspicions, and the same evening dismissed the messengers with a present

present of baubles made of tin, and other trifles for the Cacique *Guacanagari*, and themselves.

The next morning *Columbus* landed, when, to his great concern, he saw nothing but ruin and desolation; the houses and forts were burnt, and nothing left belonging to the Christians but a few ragged cloaths, and things of no value. As he had ordered the *Spaniards*, at his leaving them, if any thing happened, to throw the gold into a well he had made in the fort, he ordered that well to be cleansed; but no gold was to be found there: he soon after found the bodies of eleven *Spaniards*, who seemed to have been dead about a month.— However, while he was ruminating on this event with a mind filled with resentment and sorrow, he was visited by the Cacique *Guacanagari*'s brother, who came attended by some *Indians*, who had learned to talk a little *Spanish*, and by them he was informed that he had scarce set sail, when those he had left behind began to quarrel amongst themselves, every man endeavouring to amass all the gold he could obtain, and to take as many wives from the natives as his unbounded appetite demanded. That *Escoedo* and *Peter Gutieres*, having killed one of the men named *James*, had, with nine others, retired with their women to *Caunabo*, a Cacique who was lord of the mines, and who put them all to death; after which, that Cacique came, attended by a great number of men, to destroy the town, when there were only *James de Arana* and ten of his men, who had remained with him to guard the fort, the rest having dispersed themselves about the island. *Caunabo*, who came

came upon him in the night, instantly set fire to the houses where these eleven *Spaniards* lived with their women; on which they fled into the sea, where eight of them perished, and the other three were slain on shore, while *Guacanagari* endeavoured to revenge the *Spaniards* by making war on *Caunabo*; but was put to flight, after having received a dangerous wound, which confined him to his house, and prevented his waiting on the Admiral.

This account perfectly agreed with the intelligence received from some *Spaniards* who had been sent up the country, and had visited the wounded Cacique at his own house, who greatly desired to see *Columbus*. The next day therefore the Admiral paid him a visit, and was received with the utmost cordiality and concern for what had happened. *Guacanagari* repeated the melancholy story, with all the marks of unfeigned sorrow, and at the same time shewed his own wound, and those of his men, which they had received in defence of the Christians, and which plainly appeared to have been made with wooden swords and arrows pointed with fish-bones, and not with any *European* weapons. The compliments of condolence being passed, the Cacique presented the Admiral with eight strings of small beads, composed of red, green and white stones, a string of gold beads, a crown of the same metal, and three small calabashes full of gold dust, which weighed about thirty two ounces. In return for these valuable presents, the Admiral gave him a variety of baubles, which might be worth about three shillings, or twenty-pence. Though the Cacique

as extremely ill, he insisted on attending his
 next to the fleet, where he was courteously en-
 tertained, and much pleased at the sight of the
 horses, of which the *Spaniards* had before given
 him an account. This Cacique was afterwards
 instructed in the mysteries of the Christian
 religion, which he was at first unwilling to em-
 brace.

Columbus being disgusted at a spot which had
 been the scene of so many disasters, and know-
 ing that there were better and more commodious
 places in the island, for a settlement, sailed on
 the 7th of *December* with the whole fleet to the
 eastward, and cast anchor before an *Indian*
 town where he resolved to plant a colony. With
 this view the people designed for settlers were
 loaded, with provisions and proper utensils, in a
 plain where he built a town, to which he gave
 the name of *Isabella*, in honour of the Queen.
 It was conveniently situated near a rock where a
 fort might be erected; the harbour was spa-
 cious, and at the distance of a bow-shot ran an
 excellent river, from whence canals might be
 easily cut through the midst of the place, and
 beyond it lay an open plain, from which the
Indians said, the mines of *Cebao* were not far
 distant.

From the 11th of *December* to the 12th of
March in the following year, 1494, *Columbus*
 was employed in compleating this new settle-
 ment, and having at length regulated the affairs
 of the town, he dispatched *Alonzo de Hojeda*,
 with fifteen men, in search of the gold mines,
 and on the 2d of *February*, sent twelve of his
 ships

ships back to *Castile*, with a letter to their Catholic Majesties, in which he gave a very particular account of whatever had happened since his arrival in the *West-Indies*.

Hojeda soon after returned from this expedition, and informed the Admiral that on the second day after he set out from *Isabella*, he lay at the pass of an almost inaccessible mountain, and afterwards at the distance of every league, found Caciques, by whom he was hospitably entertained; but continuing his journey, he arrived on the sixth day at the place called the Mines of *Cebao*, where he saw the *Indians* picking up gold out of a small river, as they did from many others in the same province. This information was highly agreeable to the Admiral, who was just recovered from a fit of sickness occasioned by fatigue; and on the 12th of *March*, having caused all the ammunition belonging to the other ships to be put on board his own, he left a strong guard in the two ships, and three caravels, and set out from *Isabella* for *Cebao*, attended by all the rest of his people, some of whom were on horseback, and others on foot.

The Admiral took this precaution of securing the ships, in consequence of his having detected a conspiracy headed by one *Bernardo de Pija*, who had embarked from *Spain* in quality of comptroller to their Catholic Majesties. This person had taken the opportunity of the Admiral's illness to tamper with some of the men, who being disappointed of the gold they expected to find without the least trouble, and dis-

dissatisfied with the regulations of the new settlements, readily joined with him in the design of revolting from the Admiral, and seizing the ships in order to return to *Spain*; but this mutiny being discovered, the Admiral caused the ringleader to be secured, 'till he could have an opportunity of sending him home to take his trial.

Columbus, in order to fill the *Indians* with the greater awe and respect, made his men march in regular order through the villages, with trumpets sounding, and colours flying, and also carried with him every thing necessary for building a fort at *Cebao*. He marched along the banks of the river which runs by *Isabella*, and crossing another river, lay in a pleasant plain which extended to the foot of a high and craggy rock, which formed a pass. The next day he entered a spacious plain, in which he travelled five leagues, and spent the night near a broad river, which the men crossed on floats and in canoes: This, which he called the *River of Canes*, falls into the sea at *Monte Christo*. In his march he passed by many *Indian* towns, composed of round thatched houses, the doors of which were so low that no person could enter them without stooping down. The inhabitants seemed to have very little notion of private property; for the *Indians* who attended the *Spaniards* from *Isabella*, freely entered the houses and took what they liked best, without giving the least offence to the former possessors, while the latter attempted to take what they liked from the *Spaniards*, and seemed surprized at

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meeting with a repulse. The way was hitherto agreeably diversified with mountains covered with wild vines, and other fruit-trees of various sorts.

On the 14th of *March*, *Columbus* set forwards from the *River of Canes*, and at the distance of a league and a half, arrived at the banks of another river, which he named the *Golden River*, from their gathering here some grains of that metal. Having passed it with some difficulty, he proceeded to a large town, where he found that many of the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, and the rest barred their doors against him with canes; and having passed by another river, and several towns which were barricaded against him in the same manner, he entered the province of *Cebao*, which, though rough and stony, yields plenty of grass, and is watered by several rivers which abound with gold washed down from the mountains; but though this is a very large province, it has few or no trees except some pine and palm-trees, which grow on the banks of the rivers.

In this country he caused a fort to be erected in a very strong, though pleasant situation, to command the country about the mines, and protect the *Spanish* adventurers. This fort, which was built of timber and clay, was of sufficient strength to withstand the attack of any number of *Indians*, and having placed a garrison in it of sixty men, among whom were workmen of several sorts, to finish and repair the works, he set out on his return, and was met by considerable numbers of the natives, who came to sell their provisions, which chiefly consisted of a

kind

kind of bread and garlick. On the 29th of *March* he arrived at his new colony of *Isabella*, where he found melons already fit to eat, though the seed had not been above two months in the ground; and a wild vine of that country being pruned, produced large and excellent grapes; some wheat which had been sown in the latter end of *January*, already produced ears fit to gather; vetches produced a ripe crop of a much larger sort than those they had sown, within twenty-five days; sugar-canes, and the stones of fruit sprouted out in seven days; vine-branches produced leaves in the same time, and yielded green grapes in twenty-five days: *Columbus* had therefore great reason to be pleased with the soil and climate, and particularly with the water, which was extremely pure, cool, and palatable.

On the first of *April*, a messenger arrived at *Isabella* from the new fort, to which he had given the name of the Castle of *St. Thomas*, with advice that the Cacique *Caunabo* was preparing to attack it. *Columbus* was but little concerned at this news, as he knew that he had nothing to apprehend from the natives, who were under great apprehensions at the sight of his horses; yet as he intended to go to sea with three caravals, in order to discover the continent, he thought it necessary to leave every thing in tranquility behind him, and therefore sent a reinforcement to the fort of seventy men, part of whom were to be employed in making the road more passable, and in searching for the fords of the rivers. In the mean time he completed his town, which was laid out in regular

streets, with a convenient market-place; supplied it with river-water by a canal, and erected a water-mill for grinding wheat; but as his people were not accustomed to the food of the natives, and provisions began to fail, he resolved to send the superfluous mouths to *Spain*. This step he thought himself obliged to take, from his finding that the climate disagreed with many of his people who were in a sickly and languishing condition. As for those who enjoyed health, and were not absolutely necessary in the town, they were sent to traverse the island, in order to observe its situation, and accustom themselves to the *Indian* diet. These were commanded by *Hojeda*, who had orders to march to *Cebao*, and deliver up the command of these men to *Peter Margarite*, who was to conduct them round the island; while the former commanded the fort of *St. Thomas*.

On the 29th of *April*, *Hojeda* with his party, which consisted of above 400 men, left *Isabella*, and having crossed the river *del Oro*, or the *Gold River*, apprehended a *Cacique* and his brother whom he sent in irons to the Admiral. This *Cacique* had accommodated three *Spaniards* with five *Indians* to carry their cloaths over a river, but being in the middle they turned back, and ran away with the baggage, while the *Cacique*, instead of punishing them, converted what they had taken to his own use. Another *Cacique*, who dwelt beyond the river, relying on the service he had done the Christians, went with the prisoners to *Isabella*, to intercede in their behalf. *Columbus* entertained him very kindly; but, to heighten the favour he intended

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*A Spaniard arrives, with his Horse
the sight of which had greatly terri-
fied the Indians . —*

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to grant, ordered the Cacique and his brother to be put to death in the market-place; at which their honest friend shed a flood of tears, and earnestly begged that their lives might be spared; whereupon the Admiral instantly forgave them. These were no sooner released, than a man on horseback, who had just arrived from Fort *St. Thomas*, told the Admiral, that in his way through the town belonging to the Cacique who had been his prisoner, he alone had rescued four *Spaniards* whom the *Indians* had taken by way of reprisal, and chased above 400 persons, who fled at the sight of his horse.

The Admiral, being now resolved to discover the continent*, appointed a council to govern the island in his absence, consisting of his bro-

* It is worthy of remark, that while *Columbus* was thus settling the affairs of *Hispaniola*, *John Cabot*, (a citizen of *Venice*, who lived at *Bristol*) and his son *Sebastian*, sailed from the last mentioned city on discoveries; saw the continent of *Newfoundland*, to which they gave the name of *Prime Vista*, or *First-seen*; and on the 24th of *June*, the same year 1494, went on shore on an island, which they called *St. John's*, from its being discovered on *St. John's* day. *John Cabot*, on his return to *England*, reported, that this island was barren; but that the sea near the coast abounded with fish; that the people wore bear-skin clothes, and were armed with bows, arrows, pikes, wooden clubs, darts, and slings; and upon this report he obtained a patent for making discoveries; but this gentleman dying soon after, King *Henry VII.* granted a new patent to his son *Sebastian*, who set sail on the 4th of *May*, 1497, before *Columbus* began his third voyage. *Sebastian* sailed as high as $67^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude; proceeding from thence into the latitude 56° , and from thence ran down to 38° along the coast of the continent of *America*, which, he expressly says, was afterwards called *Florida*, where provisions growing short, he sailed back, touched at *Newfoundland*, and returned to *England*.

ther *Diego*, who was present, and five other persons. He then sailed with three ships to *Cuba*, and running along the south side of that island entered a large bay, which he called *Puerto Grande*, from its extent and depth of water. While he continued his course along the coast, a great number of *Indians* came aboard in their canoes with presents of bread, water, and fish in return for which he gave them a few bells, beads, and other trifles.

On the 5th of *May* he reached *Jamaica**, where he had been told there was great plenty of gold. On his casting anchor at that island he thought it the most beautiful of any he had yet seen, and a surprising multitude of the natives came in canoes of different sizes to exchange provisions for toys. The next day he coasted along the island; but sending out his boat to sound the mouths of the harbours, they were soon surrounded with canoes filled with armed men, who seemed resolved on beginning hostilities. However, the *Spaniards* being determined to enter *Puerto Bueno*, saluted them with such a flight of arrows, that several of them being wounded, the rest instantly retired. In that port the Admiral repaired his ship, and afterwards sailed back to *Cuba*, with a firm resolution to know whether it was an island or a continent. The same day a young *Indian* of *Jamaica*, coming on board, begged to accompany *Columbus* to *Spain*, and though many of his kindred and other persons intreated him with

* The reader may find an accurate description of the present state of *Jamaica*, in our account of the discoveries and settlements of the *English*.

tears in their eyes to return, he persisted in his resolution, and the Admiral gave orders that he should be treated with the utmost civility.

On the 15th he reached the point of *Cuba*, which he named *Cabo de Santa Cruz*, or *Cape Holy Cross*; but as he coasted along, was overtaken by a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, which was the more dangerous as he was entangled amongst the currents and flats, which hindered him from taking in his sails. He found the sea to the north and north-east of that island covered with a prodigious number of small, low, and sandy islands, some of which scarcely appeared above the surface of the water, and consequently rendered the navigation very hazardous. It is true, the nearer they sailed to *Cuba*, the higher and pleasanter these little islands appeared, and it being a matter of difficulty and of no advantage to give a name to each of them, he stiled them all in general *the Queen's Garden*. The next day these islands seemed to multiply on all hands, so that his men reckoned 160 of them, parted from each other by navigable channels, through which the ships sailed. In some of them they saw a great number of cranes that were as red as scarlet; abundance of turtles and their eggs, and an infinite number of small singing birds; and, what appeared still more extraordinary, the air was as sweet as if it had been impregnated with the richest perfumes. In one of the above channels, they found a canoe with fishermen, who seeing the boat approach, they without the least concern made signs to the *Spaniards* to keep off 'till they had done fishing; and as their manner of catching

catching fish appeared very surprizing, they were willing to comply. The men had tied some small fishes, called *reves*, by the tail, which meeting with another fish, fixed themselves to it, by the sucker on the top of the head, when the fishermen drew them up together. Upon this occasion they caught a sea turtle, to whose neck the *reve* or sucking fish had fastened itself: and in this manner they will sometimes adhere to sharks of the largest size. The *Indians* in the canoe having taken a turtle, went on board to the Admiral, and made him a present of all the fish they had caught; for which he gratified them with a few baubles.

On the 22d of *May*, *Columbus* landed in an island somewhat bigger than the rest, which he called *St. Mary's*; but entering a town, all the inhabitants fled, when the *Spaniards* found nothing but fish in their houses, which was all the food those people lived upon, and some dogs resembling mastiffs, that lived on the same food. He then directed his course north-east, where he was still bewildered by an astonishing number of flats and islands; and, notwithstanding all his precautions in sounding and keeping men upon the round-top to look out, the ship was often aground, and this obliged him to relinquish his design of sailing east about, before he returned to *Spain*.

Being now in great want of water, he again touched at *Cuba*, when one his sailors mounting a tree with a cross bow, to kill some bird or beast, discovered thirty people armed with spears and staves, and among them a person dressed in a white vest which hung down to his knees,

carried

carried by two men in long garments that reached to their feet, all three being as white as the *Spaniards*; but seeing so many of their attendants, he was terrified, and calling to his companions, the *Indians* ran away without looking back. The next day the Admiral sent some people on shore to discover the truth of this report; but the woods and marshes were so impassable, that after having travelled about a league from the shore, they were obliged to return.

Having sailed about ten leagues to the westward, they observed houses on the shore, from whence the natives came in canoes with food and water, for which they were well paid. The Admiral however caused one of the *Indians* to be detained; but told him and the rest, by his interpreter, that he would let him go as soon as he had given him proper directions for his voyage, and some account of the country. The *Indian*, satisfied with this promise, let him know that *Cuba* was an island; and that the coast was very low, and surrounded by small islands.

The next day the Admiral being inclosed between two islands, was obliged to tow the ships over a flat, where there was but very little water; when bearing up to the coast of *Cuba*, the *Spaniards* saw very large turtle in such numbers that they covered the sea. The next morning the sun was darkened by the multitude of sea-crows which flew towards the shore and lighted upon it; there also appeared abundance of pigeons and other birds; and the next day there came such a swarm of butterflies, that they darkened

darkened the air from morning 'till night, when they were carried away by a great shower of rain.

On the 13th, *Columbus* perceiving that the coast of *Cuba* ran far west, and that there would be the greatest difficulty in sailing that way, resolved to return to the town he had begun to build at *Hispaniola*, but being in want of wood and water, he anchored in *Evangelista*, an island of about thirty leagues in compass, and having provided the ships with what they wanted, directed his course to the south; but after having sailed a few leagues through a channel which seemed to be the clearest, found himself embayed, and being in a manner destitute of provisions, was under great consternation. However, for fear of discouraging his men, he appeared as chearful as possible, and having returned as he entered, sailed towards some island to the north-west, near which the sea seemed to be of different colours, owing in all probability to the shallow water, and the nature of the bottom seen through it. Soon after his ship ran aground so fast that she could not be got off without great difficulty and danger; but however this was at last effected, and after many difficulties, he escaped from these shoals and islands and arrived again at *Cuba*.

On the 7th of *July*, landing to hear mass, he was visited by an old Cacique, who appeared very attentive, and afterwards signified his belief of the existence of a supreme Being, who rewards virtue and punishes vice in a future state.

On the 16th of July, as *Columbus* was steering towards *Cape Cruz*, in the island of *Cuba*, he was surprized with such a violent storm, that the ships were almost overset before the sails could be furled, and they shipped so much water that the men were scarce able to keep them clear by pumping; for his men were rendered extremely weak by fatigue and want of provisions, their allowance being only a pound of biscuit, and half a pint of wine a day, unless they happened to catch fish. This allowance the Admiral himself did not exceed. However, at his arrival at *Cape Cruz* he was civilly entertained by the *Indians*, who supplied him with bread made of grated roots, with plenty of fish, and great quantities of delicious fruit.

Columbus now stood over to *Jamaica*, and coasting along to the westward, found that part of the island full of excellent harbours, and abounding with inhabitants. He then made the south side of *Hispaniola*, and having lost sight of the other two ships that were under his command, cast anchor at a small island, where his men killed eight seals that lay asleep on the shore, and took great numbers of pigeons and other birds, which, being unaccustomed to the cruelty of the human species; stood still while they were knocked down with staves.

Six days after the Admiral, being joined by the other ships that were missing, proceeded on his voyage, and coasted along *Hispaniola*, which exhibited the prospect of a delightful plain, extending a mile from the sea, and so populous, that

that for a league together, it seemed to be one continued town, in the neighbourhood of which was a lake five leagues in length. Here the natives came on board in their canoes, and told the Admiral, that they had been visited by some *Spaniards* from *Isabella*, where all was well; when being greatly pleased with this information, he immediately dispatched nine men across the island with the news of his safe return, while he and his ships continued sailing along the coast to the eastward. In this course he sent the boats ashore for water, near a great town from which the *Indians* came to oppose their landing, with boats and poisoned arrows, and produced some ropes with which they threatened to bind the Christians. But as soon as the boats reached the shore, they civilly laid down their arms, asked for the Admiral, and carried him provisions. Near this place they saw a large fish of the size of a middling whale. It bore its head, which was of the size of a pipe or butt, above water; had a long tail like that of a tunny fish, and two vast fins on the sides. From this, and other concurring circumstances, the Admiral prognosticated a change of weather, and seeking some place where he might ride secure, cast anchor under a little island, called by the *Spaniards*, *Saona*. He then observed an eclipse of the moon, which was followed by a tempest that lasted several days, during which he was under the greatest apprehensions on account of the other vessels which could not get in.

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7 AP 53



Columbus meeting his Brother Bartolomeu in the Island of Isabella

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However, they weathered the storm, and joined the Admiral, who continued his voyage, but was soon after seized with a lethargy which deprived him of his senses and memory. On this account it was agreed to sail directly to *Isabella*, where they arrived on the 29th of September. The Admiral, on his landing, soon recovered his health, though his weakness lasted several months.

Columbus, on his arrival, found his brother *Bartholomew* at *Isabella*, and perceived that the natives had taken up arms against the Spaniards. The Admiral's joy was extreme at the sight of *Bartholomew*, who returning to *Spain* from the court of *England*, where all his demands were granted, had been informed of his brother *Christopher's* success, by *Charles*, King of *France*, who presented him with one hundred crowns to defray the expence of his journey. Upon this he made all the haste he could to overtake the Admiral in *Spain*; but before his arrival at *Seville*, *Christopher* had sailed on his second voyage; however, waiting on their Catholic Majesties, he was received with honour, and ordered to sail with three ships to the *West-Indies*, in order to carry provisions to his brother, where he arrived, while the Admiral was gone upon the discovery of *Cuba*.

Christopher Columbus now gave his brother *Bartholomew* the title of Governor of the *Indies*, which their Catholic Majesties very much regretted, alledging that he had no power to grant so high an office; but this difference was at length compromised, and his place confirmed

I

under

under the title of *Adelantado*, or Lord-lieutenant of the *Indies*.

Tho' *Christopher Columbus* rejoiced at having the company and assistance of his brother, he was immediately involved in a great trouble and vexation by the misconduct of *Peter Margarite* who instead of obeying his orders, by traversing the island with 360 foot and 14 horse, which had been left under his command, had encamped in a large plain at ten leagues distance from *Isabella*, from whence he dispatched the most insolent letters to the council; but finding at length that he was unable to obtain the supreme command, and dreading the return of the Admiral, who might punish him for his presumption, he, together with father *Boyle*, who had been sent to convert the *Indians*, embarked on board one of the three ships that brought over *Bartholomew*, and with others of his party returned into *Spain*, without assigning any reason for his departure, or disposing of the men under his command; on which they dispersed themselves through the country, robbed the natives of their women and effects, and committed such outrages, as not only intirely alienated the affection of the *Indians* from the *Spaniards*, but induced them to lay schemes of revenge. A Cacique, who had a large town, attacking some small straggling parties, killed ten of the *Spaniards*, and set fire to a house in which eleven of them were sick. Six of the *Spaniards* were killed in other parts of the island, and much greater numbers would have perished, had it not

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7 AP 53



*Columbus with 200 foot 20 Horse
20 Wolf Dogs assisted by a Body of
Islanders defeats 100.000 Indians*

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not been for the Admiral's return. The *Indians* indeed might have easily shaken off the *Spanish* yoke, had they but united in their own defence; for there were four principal Caciques or Kings, each of whom had seventy or eighty petty lords under his subjection, who were obliged, when called upon, to assist in the wars.

Columbus was very uneasy at finding, that the Christians, by their vices, had rendered themselves hated by the *Indians*, who could not bear their insolence and barbarity. *Guacanagari*, indeed, continued a firm friend to the *Spaniards*, and visiting the Admiral at his return, declared that he had been so far from joining with his enemies, that he had protected and maintained an hundred of his people, by which means he had incurred the displeasure of the other Caciques: *Bebechico* had killed one of his women, and another of them had been carried off by *Cauanabo*; he therefore desired *Columbus's* assistance to recover the one, and to revenge the death of the other. This the Admiral readily promised, and some of the natives who had murdered his men being punished with death, and others sent into *Spain*, *Columbus* and *Guacanagari* set out from *Isabella* to prosecute the war against the *Indians*, who were assembled to the number of 100,000, while *Columbus's* forces consisted only of 200 foot, 20 horse, and 20 wolf dogs, and *Guacanagari's* of a body of *Indians*.

Columbus, being in sight of the enemy on the second day of his march, divided the little army under his command into two bodies; one of which he gave to his brother *Bartholomew*, that

by attacking the enemy in two places at once he might increase their terror and confusion. The *Indians* were immediately thrown into disorder by the discharge of the muskets and cross-bows, when the *Spaniards* rushing upon them with their horses and dogs, so terrified them, that they were soon routed, and many slain, and a great number taken prisoners, among whom was *Caunabo*, with all his wives and children, who confessed that he had before killed twenty of the Christians at the town of the *Nativity*, and that he intended to have acted in the same manner at *Isabella*. This confession, together with his being taken in arms, induced the Admiral to send him and his whole family into *Spain*, where they might be treated in such a manner as was most agreeable to their Catholic Majesties.

This victory, and the captivity of *Caunabo*, so much intimidated the *Indians*, that within the space of a year, *Columbus*, without any other engagement, reduced the whole island to obedience, and imposed a quarterly tribute to be paid the King and Queen of *Spain*; every inhabitant of *Cebao* being taxed at a certain quantity of gold, and the rest at 25 pounds of cotton a head. Things being thus settled to the satisfaction of all parties, the natives became so quiet and pacific, that a single *Spaniard* might travel in safety over the whole island, and everywhere meet with an hospitable and friendly reception. However, the diseases of the climate and change of diet, had reduced the colony of *Isabella* to less than one third of the number that first settled there.

The Cacique

The *Spaniards*, by conversing with the natives, now became better acquainted with their manners and customs, and learned, amongst other things, that the island produced ebony, cedar, long pepper, ginger, frankincense, a great number of mulberry-trees, and copper.

In regard to religion, every Cacique had a detached temple set apart for the service of certain wooden images called *Cemies*, before which they performed several ceremonies, and prayed with great devotion. In each of these temples was a round table, on which was a certain kind of powder, which, being laid on the head of the idol, the devotee snuffed it up through an hollow cane, which consisted of two branches, at the same time repeating a kind of jargon which seemed altogether unintelligible, and by this powder he was immediately intoxicated. These images had different names, and some were in much higher reputation than others, so that a *Cemi* of character was frequently stolen. The *Indians* carefully concealed these ceremonies from the Christians, whom they would not suffer to enter the place of their devotions. However, some *Spaniards* once rushed into a temple, at which the idol began to cry aloud in the *Indian* tongue: the Christians however soon comprehended, and discovered the trick, by kicking it down, when they perceived that it was supplied with a trunk, the farther end of which reached to a dark corner of the apartment, where a man lay concealed among boughs and leaves, and spoke what was dictated by the Cacique, who now finding himself detected, earnestly intreated the *Spaniards* not to communicate

municate the discovery to his subjects, as it would render it impossible for him to keep them in obedience.

Most of these Princes had also three stones, which both they and their people devoutly worshipped, one of which, they said, presided over the corn and other grain, the other affected women in child-birth, and the third had an influence on the weather.

When a sick *Indian* was deemed past recovery, he was strangled by order of the Cacique, and was either burnt, buried, or embalmed, at the pleasure of his relations. Some, on being emboweled and dried, were laid in hammocks, with bread and water at their heads, and others deposited in a cave furnished with the same kind of provisions. It is observable, that *Caunabo* being questioned about a future state, said, that after death he should go to a certain vale, where he should find his parents and predecessors, and eat, drink, and enjoy all sensual pleasures in the highest perfection.

But to return to Don *Pedro Margarite* and father *Boyle*, who, after having thrown the island into confusion, had, as has been already mentioned, deserted their posts and returned to Spain. These persons united in speaking ill of the *Indians* and misrepresented every thing done by *Columbus*, because they had not found gold ready for them to plunder heaped up in chests, or growing on the trees; and there being also letters written by some of the malecontents, which gave an ill character of the Admiral, their Catholic Majesties sent *John Aguado*, groom of the king's bedchamber, to observe what was doing

in the island of *Hispaniola*; who set sail with four ships laden with necessaries, for the relief of the people.

John Aguado arrived at *Isabella* while the Admiral was in a distant province, and pretending to be invested with extraordinary authority, interposed in matters of government; reprov'd the Admiral's ministers, and some time after followed *Columbus*, attended by a body of horse and foot; who, being told that *John Aguado* was in search of him, returned to *Isabella*, where *Aguado* behaved with the utmost indiscretion, and treated the Admiral with the greatest disrespect. Mean while the people complain'd to him of their having no other provisions but a daily allowance out of the king's stores, of a porringer of wheat and a slice of rasty bacon or rotten cheese, with a few beans or *Spanish* pease, and of the Admiral's obliging them, as they were in the king's pay, to work at the fortifications, his own house and other structures, and he resolv'd to lay these complaints before their Majesties.

At this time the four ships brought by *Aguado* perished by a hurricane in the harbour, and there was no vessel left to carry him back, but the Admiral's two caravels; when *Columbus* observing his presumption, and being informed that others had misrepresented him at court, where he had no other support than his own merit, resolv'd to appear before their Majesties in order to vindicate himself; to let them know what he had found in his second discovery, relating to the island of *Cuba*, and his opinion as to the partition that was to be made between the two crowns

8 COLUMBUS'S DISCOVERY

crowns of *Castile* and *Portugal*. But before he left the island, he ordered several new forts to be built; and being informed by some of the *Caciques*, that there were gold mines on the south side of the island, he found it necessary, in order to support his own credit, to discover as much of that metal as possible, and therefore sent several persons with *Indian* guides, who advancing into the most southern province, found gold in all the brooks, and, digging in several places, met with such plenty of it, that one labourer in a day could get above three pesos. These they called the mines of *St. Christopher*, from a fort the Admiral ordered to be erected there.

Columbus having settled the affairs of the island, and appointed his brother *Bartholomew* his lieutenant, went on board one of the caravels, and *John Aguado* in the other, and taking with him 225 *Spaniards*, who wanted to return, with thirty *Indians*, sailed from *Isabella* on the 10th of *March* 1496. He continued his course 'till the 6th of *April*, but meeting only with contrary winds, and finding his provisions falling short, and his men discouraged, he stood off towards the *Caribbee-Islands*, and on the 10th of *April* anchored at *Guadalupe*, where many women came with bows and arrows to hinder their landing; but as the sea ran very high the boats were not able to reach the shore; upon which he ordered two *Indian* women to swim to it, and to tell the islanders that they wanted nothing but provisions, for which they would give them a valuable consideration.

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The female warriors no sooner understood the demand of the *Spaniards*, than they directed them to sail to the other side of the island, where they could be supplied by their husbands. But on their arrival there, a great number of people came down to the shore, and discharged their arrows at the boats; but perceiving that the *Spaniards* rowed towards the land, retired and formed an ambuscade in the nearest woods, whence they were easily driven by the firing of guns, when their houses and effects being abandoned, were pillaged by the *Spaniards*, who being acquainted with the method of making bread, went to work, and made a sufficient quantity of it to supply their wants. In these *Indian* houses, which, contrary to the practice of the other islands, were square, they found large parrots, honey, wax and iron. While many of the people were employed in baking bread, the Admiral sent forty men to obtain some intelligence of the country, and the next day they returned with ten women and three boys, amongst whom was the wife of a Cacique, whom a man born in the *Canaries* had much difficulty to overtake, which he could not have done, had she not, on seeing him alone, turned back, when seizing him, she threw him upon the ground, and would certainly have stifled him had not others come to his assistance. These women swathed their legs with a piece of cotton from the ankle to the knee, and wore their hair long and flowing upon their shoulders; but no other parts of their bodies were covered. It is pretended that the captive said, the island was inhabited only by women, and that amongst those who endeavoured to

to oppose the *Spaniards*, there were only four men who happened to be there by accident ; and that at certain times of the year they came to propagate their species.

Columbus, having provided his ships with a supply of wood and water, set sail from *Guadalup* on the 20th of *April*, after having made some presents to all the inhabitants they had in their possession, and set them on shore, except the chief and her daughter, who chose to go to *Spain* with *Caunabo*, who was a native of the *Caribbees*, though a Cacique of *Hispaniola*.

On the 20th of *May*, when the ships were about 100 leagues west of the *Azores*, their provisions began to fail, on which each man was allowed only six ounces of bread, and something less than a pint of water a day, and though there were eight or nine pilots in these two sloops, yet none of them knew where they were. On the 8th of *June*, several days after the reckonings of all the pilots had been out, except the Admiral's, they were in sight of *Odemira*, between *Lisbon* and *Cape St. Vincent*, which some mistook for the coast of *Galicia*, while others maintained that they were in the *English* channel. The scarcity on board was now so great, that many of the men proposed to eat the *Indians*, while others, to save the little provision that remained, were for throwing them overboard. These cruel expedients were rejected by the Admiral, who was obliged to exert all his address and authority in order to protect them, and the next morning he was rewarded for his humanity with the sight of land, which agreed so well with his having the evening be-

fore

ore asserted that he was near Cape *St. Vincent*, which all on board had laughed at, that his men believed him to be prophetic in sea-affairs.

The Admiral, on his landing, set out for *Bur-*
ros, where he was favourably received by their Catholic Majesties, who were then celebrating the nuptials of their son with *Margaret of Austria*, the daughter of the emperor *Maximilian*. He presented the King and Queen with several sorts of spice, various kinds of rich woods, birds of beautiful colours, girdles and masks adorned with gold plates, a large quantity of gold dust, with grains of that metal of different sizes; and had so far improved their former discoveries as to be able to affirm that there were innumerable islands in these new discovered seas, that had the richest soil, and abounded with the most valuable natural productions.

Columbus, having vindicated his own conduct to their Majesties satisfaction, earnestly solicited to be sent back with supplies to the colony he had left, both in want of men, and many necessaries; but notwithstanding the warmth of his solicitations, the court was so dilatory, that ten or twelve months elapsed before he could obtain a supply, which was sent in two ships commanded by *Peter Fernandez Coronel*. And after his departure, *Columbus* continued at court to procure the equipment of such a fleet as was proper for him to conduct to the *West-Indies*. This was however long retarded by the negligence and ill management of the king's officers, and particularly of *Don Juan de Fonseca*, arch-deacon

deacon of *Seville*, who was afterwards created bishop of *Burgos*, and proved an inveterate enemy to *Columbus*, whom he at length brought to disgrace.

CHAP. III.

Columbus's third voyage. He steers a new Course, passes by the Cape de Verd Islands, and anchors at one of them, where the Portuguese send their Lepers to be cured by living upon Turtle. He thence sails to the West, and discovers the Isle of Trinidad, and afterwards the Continent, which he at first supposed to be an Island, but finding his Mistake, call'd it Paria. He trades with the Inhabitants, and returns to Hispaniola. A succinct History of the Troubles of that Island, and of the Admiral's Endeavours to pacify them. But the Court of Spain being alarmed at the many Complaints sent from the Indies, depute a Person to go thither to hear and determine them; upon which the Admiral is sent home in Irons with his two Brothers.

COLUMBUS at last set sail from the bay of *St. Lucar de Barrameda*, on the 30th of *May* 1498, with six ships laden with provisions and necessaries for the planters in *Hispaniola*, with a firm resolution to discover the continent. On the 7th of *June*, he arrived at the island of *Puerto Santo*, where he took in wood and water; on the 9th, touch'd at *Madeira*, where he received other refreshments on board; and on the 19th, reached *Gomera*, at which place a French

ship had taken three *Spanish* vessels, and stood to sea with them, in sight of the squadron. The Admiral, on being informed of this capture, ordered three of his ships to give chase; but they had made too much way for the *Spanish* ships to come up with them. However, one of the prizes was retrieved by the bravery of the *Spaniards* whom the *French* had left on board; for, clapping their captors under the hatches, they returned with the vessel safe into port..

Columbus sailed from thence to the island of *Santo Domingo*, and having resolved to send three of his ships to *Hispaniola*, while he sailed with the rest to the *Cape de Verd Islands*, and from thence to the Continent, he appointed *John Antonio Columbus*, his kinsman, *Peter d' Arana*, and *Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal*, captains of the three ships bound for *Hispaniola*, with orders that each should command a week in his turn. Having dismissed them near the island of *Hiero*, he, on the 27th of June, descried the island of *Sal*, the first of the *Cape de Verd Islands*, and passing it, anchored close to a small island to which all the lepers of *Portugal* were sent to be cured by eating tortoises or turtle, and washing themselves frequently with their blood; for in the months of June, July, and August, abundance of those amphibious animals resort thither from the continent, to lay their eggs in the sand, and are easily caught by turning them on their backs while they are asleep. This was the sole business of the wretched lepers, and these animals their only sustenance, for there is neither tree nor spring in the island, so that they are obliged to drink the

water of certain pits, which is brackish and unpalatable. The healthy people living on that island amounted only to fix or seven, whose whole employment consisted in killing and salt-ing goats, of which there were such multitudes on the mountains, that they have sometimes, in the course of one year, killed to the value of 4000 ducats, though the whole stock was produced from eight goats carried thither by *Roderick Alphonso*, the proprietor of the island.

On the 30th of *June*, *Columbus* sailed for the island of *St. Jago*, where he cast anchor the next day in the evening, and sent ashore to buy cows and bulls wherewith to stock his plantation in *Hispaniola*; but finding that he could not obtain them without some difficulty and delay, he was unwilling to stay in so unhealthy a place, and his men beginning to sicken, he sailed to the south-west, resolving to continue that course 'till he should be under the line, and then to steer due west in search of undiscovered countries. He proceeded in this course, notwithstanding his meeting with violent currents, which set towards the north and north-west, 'till he arrived within five degrees of north latitude, where he was becalmed for eight days, during which the heat was so excessive, that the men could hardly breathe, and had not the air been sometimes cooled with showers of rain, the crew apprehended that they should have been burnt with their ships. The Admiral therefore resolved to steer due west; but having sailed many days in that course, and judging that the *Caribbean*

Islands

Islands lay to the north, he resolved to sail directly for *Hispaniola*.

Columbus therefore stood to the northward, and one day about noon a sailor going up to the round-top, observed land at the distance of fifteen leagues, that had the appearance of three mountains. This island the Admiral distinguished by the name of *La Trinidad*, or *Trinity*; and sailing due west, he anchored five leagues beyond a point which he called *Punta de la Galera*, from a rock which at a distance resembled a galley under sail; but finding no convenience for taking in water, he sailed farther west, and cast anchor at another point. He there took in water, without seeing any houses or people, tho' in coasting along he had left several towns behind him. The same day, being the 1st of *August*, they discovered the continent at the distance of 25 leagues; but mistaking it for another island, the Admiral gave it the name of *Isla Santa*.

Columbus now proceeded to a more westerly point of the island of *Trinidad*, which he named *Punta del Arenal*, or Sandy Point, where landing with his men in order to obtain refreshments, a Cacique of the island came to him, and observing that he wore a cap of crimson velvet, not only paid him great respect, but took off a circle of gold he had on his head and put it on the Admiral's, and with the other hand took off the Admiral's cap, with which he was greatly pleased, and put it on his own head. The same day, when they were aboard their ships, a large canoe carrying 25 men came from the eastward; but being about the distance of a musket-

shot, the *Indians* gave over rowing, and called aloud; but as what they said could not be understood, the Admiral ordered some of the men to allure them to the ship by giving them some little brass basons, looking glasses, and other glittering toys; but this proving ineffectual, *Columbus*, thinking to please them, ordered one of the men to ascend the poop and play upon the tabor and pipe, while others danced around him. This, however, had a quite contrary effect, for they took it for a signal of war, and therefore quitting their oars, laid hold of their targets and bows, and let fly their arrows. Upon this the Admiral ordered the music to cease, and some cross-bows to be brought, but only two of them to be shot; whereupon the *Indians* immediately laid down their arms, and ran in close under the stern of one of the caravels, the pilot of which went down into the canoe, and giving one who seemed to be a principal person a red cap, they made signs to him to go ashore, intimating that they would give him such things as they had; but while he went in the boat to ask the Admiral leave, they rowed away.

These people were whiter than the *Indians* of the other islands, and had agreeable countenances. Their hair was long and strait; about their heads they tied a piece of cotton cloth curiously wrought of several colours, and another about their waists. The Admiral wondered that being so near the Equinoctial he even in the morning felt the cold, notwithstanding it being in the Dog Days; he observed that the river ran with greater rapidity than that of *Sevilla*, and that the sea at high water flowed above 48 paces

up the shore, as it did at *St. Lucar*, and that the current set with such strength between the islands of *Trinidad* and *Santa*, which were only two leagues asunder, that it resembled a rapid river. The *Spaniards* found that the fruit, trees, soil and climate were the same as in *Hispaniola*. They saw parrots, some of a light green, others whitish, and others intermixed with red and yellow; and also caught very large oysters, and great quantities of other fish.

The ships having taken in water at *Punta del Arenal*, *Columbus* proceeded to a point on the north-west of what he 'till then called *Isla Santa*, which he thought to be extraordinary high land, as indeed it is; and this, which is a part of the Continent near the vast ridge of mountains called the *Andes*, he afterwards called *Paria*.

Columbus now proceeded to another mouth or channel which he called *Bocca della Sierpe*, or, the Serpent's Mouth, from the danger of the place; for anchoring near a rock, the sea ran so furiously to the northward, that it resembled the mouth of a great river, the stream of which increasing with an hideous noise, met with another current from the gulph of *Paria*, and swelled up the sea with terrible roaring, to the astonishment and consternation of the *Spaniards*, who expected to be overwhelmed. However, they suffered no other damage than one of the ships dragging her anchor.---This danger being past, the Admiral sailed westward along the coast of *Paria*, discovering several good harbours and rivers; and going ashore, saw many monkeys, and found plantanes, and other fruit, like those of the islands.

On the 6th of *August*, they sailed five leagues farther down, between the coast and the isle of *Trinidad*, where dropping anchor, three men came in a canoe, and being carried to the Admiral, were treated with great civility; presented with toys, and set on shore at a place where a number of the *Indians* were assembled, who no sooner understood the pacific disposition of the *Spaniards*, than they came in their canoes to barter with the same things that had been bought by the *Spaniards* at the islands. They drank a liquor as white as milk, and another that was green made of fruit and maize. The men covered their heads and waists with well woven cotton of different colours; but the women here, as well as in the isle of *Trinidad*, were entirely naked; but they seemed in general to be more civilized and tractable than the inhabitants of *Hispaniola*, and were particularly fond of brass trinkets and bells; but having nothing of value, except a few inconsiderable plates of gold that hung about their necks, Columbus ordered six of them to be taken on board, and then continuing his course saw a fine country well peopled, and a town, which for its beauty he called *the Gardens*, where he anchored, and many resorted to the ships with wrought cloths on their heads, and some of them with plates of gold about their necks. The *Indians* on board said there was plenty of that metal in those parts and shewed how they gathered it. As they sailed farther they were still visited in more canoes, in which all the people wore gold collars with beads of various sorts; and one *Indian* in particular had a single grain of gold as big

an apple. The women wore strings of beads about their arms, some of which were very fine pearls; these they signified were found in oysters to the westward of *Paria*; and the Admiral, having purchased some of these for a present to their Catholic Majesties, sent the boats to make farther enquiry about that valuable commodity; but though the sailors had no design to land, two of the *Indian* Chiefs civilly constrained them to it, and conducted them to a house, where they were kindly entertained with bread, fruit of several sorts, the white liquor before mentioned, and another of a red colour and good taste; the men all the while keeping together at one end of the house, and the women at the other. When they had been thus treated by the eldest, the youngest carried them to another house, and treated them in the same manner. The sailors returned well satisfied to their boats, highly pleased with the people, who were whiter than any other of the *Indians*, and of a very good stature; but what appeared to the Admiral as very extraordinary, was, the country appearing cool and delightful, notwithstanding its being so near the Equinoctial.

Columbus still continuing his course, found that the water grew more and more shallow, and therefore anchoring upon the coast, he sent the smallest caravel to discover whether there was an outlet to the westward among what appeared to be islands, but she returned the next day with a report, that what seemed islands was one continued continent; so that standing back to the eastward, he repassed the streights called the *Dragon's Mouth*, between *Paria* and *Trinity Island*,

Island, but not without great difficulty and danger from the boisterous currents. He now sailed westward along the coast of *Paria*, and after passing by several islands, on the 30th of *August* entered the harbour of *St. Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, where his brother had built a town which he called by that name in memory of his father whose name was *Dominick*.

Columbus was at this time almost blind with watching, and quite exhausted with fatigue; but he now indulged the hope of tasting the sweets of repose, and enjoying rest and tranquillity. He was however grievously disappointed; for he soon found that the whole island was in the utmost confusion. The greatest part of those he had left were dead; above 160 were miserably infected with the venereal disease, and a great number had rebelled, at the head of whom was *Francis Roldan*, whom he had appointed Alcade or Chief Justice.

It has been already observed, that a considerable time elapsed before *Columbus* could obtain a supply from their Catholic Majesties, for the colony of *Hispaniola*: In this interval provisions beginning to fail, the *Spaniards* of that island began to murmur, became dissatisfied with their situation, and even despaired of his return. *Roldan*, whose office gave him a considerable influence, resolved to take advantage of this spirit of discontent, in order to center the whole power in his own hands, and therefore encouraged the murmurs of the discontented against *Bartholomew Columbus*, the Lieutenant, and his brother *Diego*, to whose tyranny he imputed all their sufferings. His intrigues were so success-

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ful, that the minds of many of the *Spaniards* were alienated from the brothers of *Christopher Columbus*, and even made several attempts upon their lives. *Roldan*, at length, pulling off the mask, assembled his men, who amounted to 65, and attempted to seize the town and fort of the *Conception*. But this scheme miscarried through the vigilance of *Ballester*, the commander, who obtaining intelligence of his design, communicated it to the lieutenant, from whom he received a reinforcement. This rebellious behaviour obliged *Bartholomew* to send orders to *Roldan* to resign his post, and submit to an impartial trial; but he disdainfully refusing to obey these commands, marched with his mutineers to *Isabella*, where he there tried in vain to launch a caravel which was upon the stocks, plundered the storehouses and magazines, and obliged *Diego Columbus* to retire for protection into the fort; after which he fell upon the cattle that grazed in the neighbourhood, killed many of them for provisions, and took all the beasts of burden to serve his people in their march to the province of *Xaragua*, where he chose to reside, on account of its being the most pleasant and plentiful part of the island, and its abounding with beautiful women.

Before *Roldan* set out for his retreat, he resolved to try his strength, and, if possible, surprize the town of the *Conception*, where he intended to murder the Lieutenant, and did not doubt but he should easily subdue his men, who were too fond of an idle and voluptuous life; but Don *Bartholomew*, who was a man of equal courage and discretion, took such measures, that not one

of

of his people would forsake him, and boldly marching out against *Roldan*, the latter did not think fit to hazard a battle. *Roldan* now, by artful insinuations to the prejudice of *Christopher Columbus* and his brothers, engaged *Guarinoex*, a powerful Cacique, in his interest; and several *Indian* Lords, who were flattered with the hope of having their tribute remitted, entered into an association, by which it was resolved that at the full moon the natives should surprize and murder the *Spaniards*, who, for the convenience of finding subsistence, lived amongst them in small detached parties. But this project also miscarried through the ignorance of the *Indians*, some of whom being mistaken with respect to the appearance of the moon, fell upon the Christians before the appointed time, and were easily repulsed; by which means the conspiracy was discovered, and the *Spaniards* put upon their guard.

Roldan, who was greatly mortified at these repeated miscarriages, now retired with his followers to *Xaragua*, proclaimed himself the protector of the *Indians* against the oppression of the Lieutenant and his brother; and his artful misrepresentations had not only an effect on some of the natives, who refused to pay the tribute, but made an impression on the minds of those *Spaniards* who still remained under the government of the Lieutenant, many of whom were, by the warmth of the climate, disposed to a life of idleness, and were discontented at their having received no supplies from *Spain*; and indeed, such a spirit of disaffection was diffused amongst them that

boldly that the Lieutenant did not dare to punish the
guilty for fear of a general revolt.

From these apprehensions he was, however, in
some measure relieved by the arrival of the two
ships first sent, in consequence of the Admiral's
solicitations; for these bringing a reinforcement
of men and provisions, with the assurance that
the Admiral himself would soon follow, the peo-
ple were encouraged to persevere in their duty.
These two ships being arrived at *St. Domingo*,
Roldan marched towards that city in order to
obtain necessaries, and if possible seduce some of
the new comers; but he was anticipated by the
activity of the Lieutenant, who reached the place
before he was within six leagues of it, and so ef-
fectually guarded the passes, that he could not
succeed. Yet as he earnestly wished to have the
Admiral find the island in tranquility, he sent
proposals of accommodation by the commander
of these vessels; but *Roldan* sent him back with
a contemptuous refusal.

While things were in this situation, the three
ships which the Admiral had detached from the
Canary Islands arrived, but instead of entering
the harbour of *St. Domingo*, were driven by the
currents as far westward as the province of *Xa-*
ragua, where they were visited by *Roldan* and
his followers, who seduced many of the people,
and prevailed on them to enter into his service.
The captains of these three vessels, understand-
ing that *Bartholomew Columbus* and the Alcade
were at variance, agreed that *Carvajal*, the
commander of one of the ships, should stay in
Xaragua, and endeavour to produce an accom-
modation;

modation; that *John Antonio Columbus*, who commanded one of the other vessels, and was kinsman to the Admiral, should conduct the workmen over land to *St. Domingo*, and that captain *Arana* should sail round with the ships. *John Antonio Columbus* accordingly landed with forty men; but on the second day of his march all his followers, except six or seven, deserted to the rebels, and with these he was obliged to return on board, after his having in vain expostulated with *Roldan* upon his treacherous conduct on this occasion.

After a troublesome voyage, in which their provisions were spoiled, and *Carvajal's* vessel greatly damaged, his ships arrived at *St. Domingo*, whither the Admiral was just returned from the discovery of the Continent. His brother had informed him of *Roldan's* revolt; and which being greatly concerned, he caused *Roldan* to be informed that he was extremely sorry for the breach that had happened between him and the *Adelantado*, or Lieutenant, and was very desirous of healing it; that he should be glad to see him, and would grant him a safe conduct. At the same time hearing that the rebels complained of their being detained upon the island for want of vessels to carry them home, he published a proclamation granting leave for all that desired it to return to *Spain*, promising to supply them with provisions and a free passage. *Roldan*, however, treated all the Admiral's advances towards a reconciliation with indignity and insult, boasting that it was in his power either to support or suppress the authority of the Admiral.

Admiral, with whom he would not treat without the mediation of *Carvajal*, whom, he said, he knew to be a man of honour and discretion.

As *Carvajal* was a person of consequence, and had some prudence, *Columbus*, though he had reason to suspect his fidelity, since he had supplied the rebels with arms while the ships lay at *Maragua*, consented to employ him in this negotiation. *Roldan*, however, refused to treat with them, sent an insolent letter to the Admiral, and being at length persuaded to accept of a safe conduct, and to visit *Columbus*, made such extravagant proposals, as he could not embrace without exposing himself to contempt. *Columbus* therefore explained his reasons for rejecting them, and proclaimed a free pardon to all who should return to their duty within thirty days; a copy of which, with new overtures of peace, was carried to the rebels by *Carvajal*; and about the same time *Columbus* sent five ships to *Spain*, with a letter to their Majesties, containing a particular account of the colony and its dissensions.

After many disputes it was at length agreed, that the Admiral should deliver to *Roldan* two good ships well manned and victualled for transporting him and his party to *Spain*; that they should be paid their salaries and wages to the day of their departure, and that such of their effects should be restored as had been seized by them and the Lieutenant's order. Matters being thus compromised, the Admiral gave orders for equipping the ships, but the weather being extremely boisterous, some time elapsed before they were ready, and could be brought round

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to *Xaragua*, and during this interval, *Roldan* changed his mind, and refused to embark; but expressing a desire to see the affair accommodated, demanded a safe conduct in order to treat with *Columbus* in person. The latter being sensible of the mutinous disposition of his own people, was so solicitous about healing this division that he not only complied with *Roldan's* demand but went round with two caravels to the port of *Azua* near *Xaragua*, where he had a conference with the rebel chief, in which it was agreed that 15 of *Roldan's* followers should be sent home in the first ships bound for *Spain*; that lands and houses should be given instead of pay to those who remained; that *Roldan* should be again appointed perpetual Alcade, and that an act of general amnesty should be published.

This troublesome affair being thus adjusted the Admiral caused a Captain at the head of a body of men to march round the island in order to pacify and reduce the rebellious *Indians* and that no cause of animosity might be left in *Hispaniola*, he proposed to take his brother the Lieutenant with him to *Spain*; but while he was preparing for the voyage, *Alonzo de Hojeda* arrived in the island with four ships, from a cruise, in which he had pretended to make discoveries, and putting into the port of *Yaguajaymo*, not only committed several outrages against the *Indians*, but by letters began to tamper with some of the *Spaniards*, who were hardly yet confirmed in their duty. To these he insinuated that Queen *Isabella* was in a very bad state of health, and that after her decease the Admiral

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would find no protection at court, but must fall a victim to the hatred of *Hojeda's* kinsman, the bishop of *Burgos*, and *Columbus's* inveterate enemy.

The Admiral being informed of these proceedings, ordered *Roldan* to march against him with 21 men. This order he obeyed so suddenly, that *Hojeda*, finding it impossible to escape, went to meet him, excused his landing, under pretence of his being in want of provisions, and declared that he had no intentions to disturb the repose of the island, but would soon sail to *St. Domingo*, and give the Admiral an account of his voyage. But notwithstanding these professions, he sailed to the province of *Xaragua*, where he seduced many of the people by telling them that he and *Carvajal* had been appointed by their Majesties Counsellors as checks upon the Admiral, and that as he had not been so just as to pay them, they should go under his command and do themselves justice by force. This wild scheme being opposed by some of the *Spaniards*, who were amazed at *Hojeda's* presumption, a tumult ensued, in which several persons were killed and wounded; but *Roldan* marching a second time against him, he retired to his ship. The Alcade, perceiving he was out of his reach, invited him to come ashore, and treat of an accommodation; and upon his refusal offered to go on board, when *Hojeda* sending his boat well manned, *Roldan*, with six or seven of his followers, entered it, and when it was least suspected, fell upon *Hojeda's* men, made themselves masters of the boat, and returned with it to land, which obliged *Hojeda* to

to submit to a treaty, and to give security that he would depart the island.

Soon after another commotion was raised by *Ferdinand Guevara*, who was in disgrace with the Admiral for being concerned in the late sedition, and he being exasperated against *Roldan* for not permitting him to marry the Queen of *Xaragua's* daughter, entered into a conspiracy with one *Adrian de Moxica*, and having engaged many people in his interest, resolved to surprise and murder the Alcade. But *Roldan* being informed of their proceedings took his measures well, that he seized the chief conspirators, and being ordered by the Admiral to punish them according to law, he proceeded to a fair trial in consequence of which *Moxica* was hanged, some of the confederates banished, and others sent to prison.

This example had such an effect, that tranquillity was restored throughout the whole island and about this time such rich gold mines were discovered, that every man left the King's pay and went to dig on his own account, allowing the king one third of all that was found. In this employment they met with such success, that one man would sometimes gather forty ounces in a day, and a lump of pure gold was found that weighed 196 ducats.

While *Columbus* was thus exerting all his prudence, and exercising his humanity in appeasing the troubles of *Hispaniola*, he little thought that a storm was rising against him at home. A number of malecontents had been sent to *Spain* during the rebellion, who represented him as an insolent alien, ignorant of the

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laws and customs of the *Spanish* nation; oppressive and cruel in his disposition; elated with the dignity to which he had been raised, and so varitious and unjust, that he not only withheld the pay due to the servants of the government, but embezzled the riches of the island. They inveighed with still greater bitterness against his brother the Lieutenant, nor did *Diego* escape the utmost virulence of their censure. These imputations being spread abroad by the friends of those who had been the disturbers of the peace of *Hispaniola*, and encouraged by many persons at court, who envied *Columbus's* success and reputation, such a clamour was raised in *Castile*, that the King and Queen were daily surrounded in the streets by people demanding justice against that proud and tyrannical foreigner, who had oppressed so many *Castilians*, and discovered a mischievous country to be the ruin and grave of the *Spanish* gentry. Their Majesties sent an Inspector-General to *Hispaniola*, with power to enquire into the Admiral's conduct, and if he should be found guilty to send him home, while the Inspector was to remain Governor of the island in his room. *Francis de Bovadilla*, a knight of the order of *Calatrava*, but in very low circumstances, was chosen for this high office; and being furnished with full powers, arrived at *St. Domingo* in the latter end of *August* 1500, while the Admiral was at the *Conception* with most of the people of consequence, settling the affairs of that province.

Bovadilla finding nobody at *St. Domingo* who could be a check upon his conduct, immediately

took possession of the Admiral's palace, seized his effects, assembled all who were disaffected to his brothers; declared himself Governor, dispatched orders to the Admiral to repair to him without delay, and to back his summons, sent him the King and Queen's letter, which contained no more than that their Majesties had sent the bearer to acquaint *Columbus* with their pleasure, which he was directed to obey, and this order was signed both by the King and Queen.

Columbus, immediately on his receiving the letter, set out for *St. Domingo*, to wait upon *Bovadilla*, who, without any legal information, sent him and his brother *Diego* on board a ship where they were laid in irons, placed under strong guard, and entirely excluded from the speech of any person whatsoever. A process was then begun against them, and all the enemies being admitted as evidences, their depositions were so malicious, incoherent and absurd, that nobody who had not been determined at all events to ruin the accused, would have paid the least regard to their allegations. *Bovadilla*, however, on this occasion countenanced the most flagrant perjuries, and encouraged the rabble to insult the prisoners by blowing horns at the port where the ship lay at anchor, and by reading scandalous libels in the market place. The Lieutenant, who was not yet returned from *Xaragua*, might probably have rescued his brothers by force of arms, but the Admiral ordered him to submit quietly to their Majesties authority, vested in the person of the new Governor, who had no sooner laid an injunction on *Andrew Martin*, the captain of the

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*Columbus and his Brother James
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ship, to deliver the Admiral in irons to the bishop *de Fonseca*, by whose direction he acted, than he began to embezzle the treasure, squander the king's revenue amongst his creatures, oppress and plunder the *Indians*, countenance the greatest profligacy, and destroy all the prudent regulations established by the Admiral.

Andrew Martin was no sooner out at sea, than being ashamed at seeing the brave *Columbus* in this disgraceful situation, would have knocked off his irons; but he resolved to wear them during his whole passage, and to keep them ever after as a memorial of the reward he had obtained for his services; and indeed these fetters he always preserved in his own chamber, and, at his request, they were at length buried in the same coffin with his body.

On the 20th of *November* 1500, he wrote to their Catholic Majesties to acquaint them with his arrival at *Cadiz*. Upon which they gave immediate orders for his being released; sent him very gracious letters, in which they expressed their sorrow for his sufferings, and invited him to court, promising that he should soon be sent again, and fully restored his honours.

On his arrival at *Granada*, and King and Queen gave him a favourable reception, and let him know that they were offended at the author of his imprisonment, who had acted thus without their orders, and promised that he should have full satisfaction. Mean while they directed his affair to be examined, and the accusations against him plainly appearing malicious and frivolous, he was honourably acquitted; and at the same time a new Governor of *Hispaniola* was appointed,

ed, in order to redress the Admiral's grievances, and oblige *Bovadilla* to restore what he had unjustly seized. This commission was granted to *Nicholas de Obando*, commendary of laws, a man of abilities, but crafty, cruel and revengeful, who afterwards exercised great barbarity upon the natives and their chiefs.

It was at the same time resolved to send the Admiral upon some voyage that might turn out to his advantage, and keep him employed, 'till *Obando* could settle the affairs of *Hispaniola*; but there being some delay in the execution of this design, and the Admiral being apprehensive of future disgrace, from the indefatigable efforts of his enemies at court, desired to be excused from embarking again, and intreated their Majesties to defend him against all dangers. This procured him a very favourable answer, and soon after the most advantageous grants and concessions, which made him resolve once more to expose his life in another voyage to the *Indies* in order to perfect his discoveries.



CHAP. IV.

A Digression, containing the Discoveries made by other Spaniards, while Columbus was engaged in the third Voyage.

BEFORE we proceed to *Columbus's* next voyage, it is proper that we should give some account of the discoveries, whether real or pretended, that were made before he again set sail for *America*. *Alonzo Hojeda*, who has been already mentioned in the course of this voyage, and *Americus Vespucius*, obtained from the Bishop of *Burgos*, the draughts and plans which, by their Majesties order, *Columbus* had deposited in the hands of that Prelate, who, out of hatred to that great commander, and to rob him, if possible, of his credit and reputation, gave them up without the knowledge of the King and Queen. The licences he gave these gentlemen were also clandestine. They set sail from *Cadiz* on the 20th of *May* 1499, and steered directly in search of the Continent, pursuant to the Admiral's scheme, which before this time he had actually carried into execution. This was the first voyage made by *Americus Vespucius*, and though he now only touched at that part of the Continent which had been visited by the Admiral, yet he impudently pretended to discover it; and by confounding this with a voyage he afterwards made into those parts, dressed up a plausible story, and being an excellent geographer and draftsman, imposed upon the greatest part of *Europe*. In *Spain*, however, he was soon

soon detected; for pretending that he returned directly to that kingdom after a voyage of thirteen months spent in discoveries, *Hojeda* made oath that only five months were spent in the voyage, and that finding themselves short of provisions, they sailed to *Hispaniola* for a supply.

It was no sooner known that *Alonzo Hojeda*, and *Americus Vespucius* had obtained the above licences, than others resolved to make use of the same interest, in order to acquire a share of the riches of the New World; and a company was formed by some of the inhabitants of *Seville*, the principal of whom was *Peter Alonzo Nino* of *Palos*, who was with the Admiral when he discovered *Paria*, and *Christopher Guerre*, of *Seville*.

Nino having obtained the King's licence, upon condition of his not coming to an anchor, or landing within 50 leagues of any place discovered by *Columbus*, set sail soon after *Hojeda* and *Vespucius*, discovered land, and arrived at the province of *Paria* a few days after them; where finding the *Indians* behave peaceably, he, contrary to his instructions, landed and cut *Brazil* wood, and then continuing his course, came to what *Columbus* had called the *Bay of Pearls*, formed by the island of *Margarita*, and the continent, and which he had visited in 1498.

The people here went on board *Nino's* ships without any apprehensions, carrying pearl necklaces, and wearing jewels in their noses and ears; for which the *Spaniards* gave them hawk-bells, bracelets, rings, and several trifles made of tin. Having thus purchased a considerable quantity of valuable pearls, the *Spaniards* passed

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by *Coro*, near the province now called *Venezuela*, 130 leagues below *Paria* and the *Dragon's-Mouth*, and anchored in a bay where they were well received by 50 men, who came from a place at a league's distance, and very earnestly pressed them to anchor at their town: upon which the *Spaniards* gave them some toys, and the *Indians* taking off all the pearls they had about their necks and arms, in the space of an hour gave them as many as weighed fifteen ounces.

The next day the *Spaniards* came to an anchor before a town called *Curiana*, where the *Indians* made signs to them to come on shore; but being no more than 33 men, they durst not venture, and therefore by their signs invited the *Indians* to come on board, which they did in their canoes, carrying pearls which they freely exchanged for toys; by which the *Spaniards* being convinced of their sincerity, landed and stayed twenty days on shore, during which they were courteously entertained with venison, rabbits, geese, ducks, parrots, fish, and bread made of maize. They perceived that the natives kept markets or fairs; that they had earthen jars, dishes, and other vessels of several shapes, and that in their pearl necklaces they had frogs and other creatures made of gold. They asked by signs where that metal was gathered, and were answered in the same manner, that it was got six days journey from thence, at a place called *Curiana Cauchito*.

The *Spaniards* therefore sailed thither, and found

found that the people were very tractable; for they came on board in their canoes without the least jealousy, and bartered with them for wrought and unwrought gold, though they would not part with their pearls. They also gave them some monkies, and very beautiful parrots of various colours.

Leaving this place they proceeded farther; but as they approached the shore above 5000 naked men came armed with bows and arrows to oppose their landing, and, though they strove to please them by shewing them hawks bells, and other things, they could not prevail, and therefore returned to *Curiana*, where they were received with the same satisfaction as before, the *Indians* now trading with them for pins and needles, which the *Spaniards* shewed them would be of use in drawing the thorns out of their feet, when they happened to tread upon them. The *Indians* were highly pleased, thinking they had made very advantageous bargains with the *Spaniards*, who carried away above 12,000 ounces of pearls, some of which were very beautiful, and well coloured, and as large as small hazle-nuts; but they were ill bored, the *Indians* having no iron. The *Spaniards* were now so well satisfied with the success of their voyage, that they resolved to return home, and arrived in *Galicia* on the 6th of February 1500, two months after they left *Curiana*, when *Nino* and *Christopher Guerre*, who shared in the expence and profits of the voyage, were accused before the Governor, by their own ship's crew, of hav-

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The great riches which the adventurers gained by this voyage, promoted the spirit of discovery, more especially among such as knew the proposals made by *Columbus*, or had served under him in his first two voyages. Of these none was so capable of prosecuting them as *Vincent Yanex Pinzon*, of whom we have already spoken. He had a liberal education, great courage, and a large fortune; he therefore fitted out, at his own expence, a squadron of four stout ships, with which he sailed to the *Cape de Verd Islands*, where he took in refreshments, and sailed from *St. Jago*, about the year 1500, first standing to the South and then to the West, and was the first subject of the crown of *Castile* and *Leon* that crossed the Equinoctial.

But he had hardly passed the Line, when he met with a dreadful storm, in which all on board expected to perish: However, having run 240 leagues farther to the westward, they on the 6th of *February* discovered land at a great distance, which *Yanex* called *Cabo de Consolation*, or *Cape Comfort**, and sounding, had 14 fathoms water. Captain *Pinzon* going on shore, took possession of the country in the name of their Catholic Majesties, and endeavoured to the utmost of his power, though without effect, to induce the people to trade with him; for the natives being inflexible, and having no good

* It is now called *Cape St. Augustine*.

opinion of these invaders, an engagement ensued in which some were slain on both sides.

This made Captain *Pinzon* resolve to retire and continue his voyage, which he did to the mouth of the river *Maranon*, where he observed a mighty struggle between the tide salt water coming in, and a vast current of fresh water pouring down from the land. The country at the mouth of this river, he found well inhabited on both sides, but not being able to persuade the inhabitants to traffick, he resolved, without further delay, to proceed towards *Paria*.

Yanez, on his arrival at *Paria*, took in *Braz* wood, and then struck over to the islands that lay in the way to *Hispaniola*: But when the ships were lying at anchor, there arose such a dreadful storm that two of the four sunk in sight of the others, with all the men; a third was forced from her anchors with 18 men, and carried out of sight, and the fourth, though she rode it out, beat so furiously, that the sailors, believing she would be dashed in pieces, went ashore in the long-boat, and had thought of murdering all the *Indians* they found, to prevent their calling in their neighbours to destroy them; but the ship that had been driven to sea with the 18 men returned, and the other which rode at anchor being saved, they sailed to *Hispaniola*, where they refitted, and returned to *Spain* about the latter end of *September*; after having discovered 600 leagues of the coast of *Paria*.

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James de Lepe, a native of *Palos*, having heard of the expedition undertaken by *Pinzon*, applied himself to the Earl of *Miranda* his patron, and promising to perform wonders in case he would enable him to make the same voyage, his request was complied with, and he actually arrived at the mouth of the river *Maranon*, soon after *Pinzon* had left it; the people being provoked at his seizing 36 men, and carrying them on board, vigorously attacked the Spaniards, and killed several of them, which obliged him to prosecute his voyage to *Paria*, where he also quarrelled with the inhabitants, and returned without making the least advantage of this expedition, except taking a few Indian prisoners.

It is here proper to observe, that *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, sending a considerable fleet to the *East-Indies** under the command of *Peter Alvarez Cabral* in the year 1500, that Admiral sailing to the S. W. to avoid the calms on the coast of *Guinea*, was so happy as to discover *Brazil*, one of the richest provinces in *South-America*, by meer accident†. But it is now necessary to return to the discoveries made by the great *Columbus*.

* The coast of *India* had been discovered by *Vasco de Gama*, in 1498, while *Columbus* was engaged in his third voyage to the *West-Indies*. See *de Gama's Voyage*.

† See *Cabral's Voyage* to the *East-Indies*, Chap. 1. and the *Settlement of Brazil* by the *Portuguese*, Chap. 1.



CHAP. V.

Columbus's fourth Voyage. He arrives at Hispaniola, and meets with the basest Usage from Obando, the new Governor, upon which he leaves that Island, and prosecutes his Discoveries along the Coast of the Continent: Proceeds to the Isthmus of Darien, where he expected to find a Passage to the Indies: Sails to the Haven of Porto Bello: Sends a Detachment up the River Veragua to the Indian Mines; and, after other Excursions into the Country, forms a Settlement at the Mouth of the River Belem, where being informed that a Cacique named Quibio intended to set Fire to the Houses, he causes him and his Family to be seized, but they making their Escape, attack the Settlement, and kill several of the Spaniards, upon which the new Settlers rejoin the Admiral, who after suffering several Hardships, run the Ships on Shore on the Coast of Jamaica; whence they send two Canoes to Hispaniola. The Hardships suffered by the People in the Voyage, and the Troubles the Admiral met with in Jamaica during his long Stay in that Island. The Spaniards sail thence to Hispaniola, and afterwards to Spain, where Columbus dies. Some Account of his Person and Character.

COLUMBUS, having received his instructions, sailed from Cadiz with four small ships, and 140 men, including boys; on the 9th of May 1502, he arrived at St. Catharine's, and departed from thence on the 11th for Arzilla,

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a port-town of *Morocco*, then subject to *Portugal*, and invested by the *Moors*. He sailed thither, in order to relieve the *Portuguese*, who were reported to be in great distress; but the *Moors* had raised the siege before his arrival, the Admiral therefore sailed for *Grand Canaria*, where he arrived on the 20th, and having taken in wood and water for the voyage, proceeded on the 25th in the evening for the *West-Indies*, with so favourable a wind, that on the 15th of *June*, he arrived at the island of *Martinico*. He there took in a fresh supply of wood and water, and then sailed by the *Caribbee-Islands* to *St. Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, where he intended to exchange one of his ships, which was a bad sailer, in order to continue his voyage, with less hindrance, to the coast of *Paria*, in quest of a streight which he concluded was near the place since called *Vera-gua* and *Nombre de Dios*.

In order that the Judge sent by their Majesties to call *Bovadilla* to an account might not be surprized at his unexpected arrival, he, on his approaching the port, dispatched before him one of his captains, to signify the necessity of changing the ship, and to represent that as he apprehended a great storm was approaching, he proposed to secure himself in that port, and desired that the homeward bound fleet might not sail for eight days, by which means it would avoid the danger to which it would otherwise be exposed. But so little inclined was this new governor to assist the Admiral with another vessel, that he would not even allow him to enter the port; and disregarding his advice, permitted the fleet, in which were *Roldan*, and all who

had been in the rebellion, to put to sea, on their return to *Spain*.

But the fleet had no sooner weathered the east point of *Hispaniola*, than there arose so terrible a storm, that the Admiral of the fleet, in which was *Boradilla*, and most of the rebels, foundered, and this hurricane was so fatal to the rest, that of the 18 ships that were in that fleet, only four were saved. Mean while *Columbus*, who had foreseen the storm, and been refused admittance into an island which he had discovered, and added to the dominions of *Spain*, sheltered himself under the land; but the next day the tempest increasing, three of *Columbus's* vessels were forced out to sea, when the *Bermuda*, the ship he wanted to exchange, would certainly have perished, had she not been preserved by the admirable skill of his brother *Bartholomew*, who was allowed to be the most expert seaman of his time. The ships being thus separated, each concluded that the other was lost, 'till in a few days they met again in the port of *Azuza*. The Admiral's satisfaction, however, was considerably diminished by the mortification he felt, upon reflecting that he had been denied shelter in a port, where he had a right to command, and refused a privilege in his own island, that is never denied to strangers. However, the consequence of this storm furnished his superstitious enemies with a pretence for saying, that he had raised it by magic, in order to destroy the fleet bound for *Spain*; and what seemed to add weight to this ridiculous supposition, was, that the only ship of the 18 that arrived in *Spain* was the *Aguja*, on board of which

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were 4000 pesos of gold belonging to the Admiral, while three others that resisted the fury of the waves were forced in a shattered condition back to *St. Domingo*.

Columbus, while in the port of *Azua*, gave his men some refreshment after the storm, and allowed them to divert themselves with fishing, in which they had good success; and amongst the rest of the fish they caught here, was one called the *Savina*, which is as big as an ordinary church bell, and lying asleep above water, was struck with an harping iron by the crew in one of the boats. One end of this iron being fastened to a long rope, and the other to the boat, the fish drew the boat after it as swift as the flight of an arrow, while those who were on board the ship, seeing the boat skim about, and not knowing the reason, were greatly astonished, 'till at last the fish sinking, it was drawn to the ship's side and hauled up by the tackle. They also caught in the same bay the *Manatee*, or sea-cow, an amphibious animal, whose flesh was compared by the people on board to that of veal.

Columbus, having here repaired the damage his ships had sustained by the storm, sailed in order to make discoveries on the Continent, and reached the islands of *Guania*, near the province now called *Honduras*, where *Bartholomew Columbus* going ashore with two boats, they saw a great number of pine trees and pieces of *Lapis Calaminaris*, which, being mixed with copper, some of the seamen mistook for gold.

While the Admiral's brother was at this island, and was very desirous of knowing what it contained, he observed approaching the shore

a canoe made of one tree, as long as a galley; it was eight feet wide, and had an awning of palm leaves in the middle; not unlike those of the *Venetian* gondolas: under this cover the women, children, and all the goods were sheltered from the weather, and though there were 25 men on board the canoe; they had not the courage to defend themselves against the boats, but being pursued, were taken without opposition. The Admiral was rejoiced at his having obtained an opportunity of discovering the commodities of the Continent, without exposing his men to danger; and having given orders for examining the cargo, there were found quilts, and a kind of shirts without sleeves made of cotton curiously wrought and dyed of several colours; some small cloths of the same sort, to be worn about the middle; with large sheets in which the women on board wrapt themselves; large wooden swords; edged on each side with sharp flints fixed in grooves with thread and a bituminous matter; and also hatchets made of copper; bells of the same metal, with plates and crucibles for melting it. As for the provisions; they consisted of the same kind of roots and grain as were eaten in *Hispaniola*, and a sort of liquor resembling *English* beer made of maize. They had also a considerable number of cocoa nuts, upon which they seemed to set a great value; for notwithstanding the consternation with which they were seized at finding themselves prisoners aboard the ship, they never failed, when one of these nuts chanced to fall upon the deck, to stoop and take up it with eagerness, as if it were something of consequence. They behaved with extraordinary

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ordinary modesty, and seemed to have some sense of decorum, with which the Admiral was so pleased that he ordered them to be well used; gave them *European* commodities in exchange for such of their goods as he thought proper to retain, and then restoring their canoe, suffered them to depart. He however kept an old man, who seemed both the wisest and chief man of the company, in order to learn something of the country, and to draw others to converse with the Christians, which he faithfully did, as long as they sailed where his language was understood; and when he could be no longer serviceable, was dismissed with a present, and sent home highly pleased.

Though the Admiral was told by this *Indian* of the great wealth, politeness, and ingenuity of the people westward towards *Mexico*, yet knowing that as that country lay to the leeward, he could sail thither from *Cuba* whenever he thought fit, he resolved at present to persist in his design of discovering a streight in the Continent through which he expected to find the *East-Indies*, and in particular the country that produced spices. He accordingly sailed towards *Darien*, where he was told that he should find this streight; but the *Indians* meant an isthmus or neck of land, which he mistook for a passage extending from sea to sea. In quest of this streight he sailed towards a point on the Continent, to which he gave the name of *Casinas*, from his finding there great plenty of trees bearing a fruit so called by the natives of *Hispaniola*; and near this cape saw people who wore painted tunics, or shirts made of cotton, so thick and strong as to defend

defend them against the weapons used in that country, and even to bear off the stroke of some of ours. Farther to the eastward he found the natives of a fierce aspect, and of a savage disposition; they went entirely naked; eat flesh and fish raw as it was taken, and made holes in their ears, which they stretched by their pendants, so wide that a hen's egg might be passed through them, from which circumstance the Admiral denominated that coast *de las Orejas*, or of the Ears.

On the 14th of *August* in the morning, *Bartholomew Columbus* went ashore upon this coast, to hear mass, with the colours flying, and attended by the Captains and many of the men; and a few days after, he again landed to take possession of the country for their Catholic Majesties, when about 100 *Indians* loaded with provisions ran towards the shore, but on the approach of the boats suddenly retired without speaking a word. The Lieutenant perceiving their timidity, desired the interpreter to allure them with bells, beads and other toys, with which they were so well pleased, that they returned in greater numbers the next day, with several sorts of provisions, as hens, which were better than those of *Spain*, geese, broiled fish, and red and white beans. The country was low, green, and beautiful, and produced abundance of pines, oaks, palm-trees and mirabolans, with all the fruits that were to be found on the island of *Hispaniola*; there were also deer, leopards, and other animals. The inhabitants were like those of the islands, only their foreheads were not so high; for the most part they went naked, except a

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cloth round their waists, but those of distinction wore red and white cotton cloths about their heads; and some had a short jacket without sleeves, that reached to the waist. Their arms and bodies were ornamented with different figures wrought into the skin by pricking it, and on festival days they painted their faces of various colours, which made them look extremely terrible. They seemed to have no religion, and every nation spoke a particular language of their own.

From cape *Casinas*, the Admiral was 70 days in sailing sixty leagues to the eastward, the wind and current being contrary all the time. But as there was good riding along the coast, he tacked to and fro, and every night dropped anchor under the land; but at length he reached a cape to which he gave the name of *Gracias a Dios*, or *Thanks to God*; because from that place, the land turning off to the South, enabled him to prosecute his voyage with a trade wind. However, a little beyond this head-land he passed some dangerous sands, which for a considerable way ran out to sea.

On the 16th of *September*, being in want of wood and water, *Columbus* sent the boats into a river, that seemed to have a deep and good entrance; but on their return, the wind blowing from the sea, and the waves running high against the current of the river, one of the boats, with all her men, was lost, when the Admiral called this *Rio de la Disgracia*, or the *River of Disaster*. Still running to the southward, they, on the 25th, anchored near a little island called *Quiriviri*,

riviri, and a town on the Continent named *Coriari*, which is situated near a great river, to the banks of which a multitude of people resorted, some with bows and arrows, others with staves of a wood as black as jet, as hard as iron, and pointed with fish bones; while others came with clubs. They seemed to have assembled with the intention of defending their country from invasion; but observing the pacific disposition of the *Spaniards*, were very desirous of bartering their commodities with them, which consisted of arms, cotton jackets, and pieces of pale gold, which they wore about their necks. With these things they swam to the boats, for the *Spaniards* did not go ashore that day nor the next; nor would the Admiral allow his people to take their goods in exchange, but presented them with several baubles. Yet the less the *Spaniards* seemed to regard the traffick, the more eagerness they discovered for it, and made many signs for them to come ashore; but these proving ineffectual, they retired, leaving every thing they had received on the shore, where they were found by the *Spaniards*, at the place which they afterwards landed at. The *Indians* at length supposing that the *Spaniards* did not confide in their sincerity, sent an old man of an awful presence, carrying a flag upon a staff, attended by two young girls with pieces of gold about their necks. These, by the old man's desire, were conducted by the boats crew aboard the Admiral, who ordering them to be clothed and fed, had them set on shore, where they were received with much

much satisfaction.

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much satisfaction by the old man, and 50 of the natives.

Bartholomew Columbus going ashore the next day, in order to learn something of the country, two of the chief men came to the boat, and taking him by the arms made him sit down between them. In this situation he began to interrogate them by signs, and ordered his secretary to write down what were supposed to be their answers; but they no sooner saw the pen, ink, and paper, than they were in such consternation, that most of them ran away, imagining perhaps that these were implements of forcery; for they had performed some ceremonies of exorcism before they approached the *Spaniards*, scattering a powder in the air, and burning some of the same powder, and endeavouring to make the smoke fly towards the Christians.

A few days after, the Admiral desired his brother to go ashore with several men to view the town and obtain some knowledge of the country. The most remarkable things he observed were several tombs in a great wooden structure covered with canes, in one of which was a dead body embalmed; in another, two bodies wrapt up in cotton sheets, but without any ill scent, and over each tomb was a board, upon which were carved the figures of beasts, and on some of them the effigies of the deceased, adorned with plates of gold about their necks, and other ornaments.

These being the most civilized *Indians* in those parts, the Admiral ordered some of them to be taken, out of whom he chose two who seemed to

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be the most intelligent; the rest were sent away with some presents and great civility, and endeavours were used to make them sensible that their companions were detained for no other reason but to serve as guides upon that coast, and that in a little time they would be set at liberty; but the natives believing they were detained through avarice, a number of them came down to the shore the next day, and sent four persons on board to treat for their ransom, with a present of two wild hogs which were very small. Columbus caused these deputies to be entertained with great civility, and though he would not grant their request, he sent them away well satisfied, and amply paid for the hogs; one of which was hunted on the deck by a kind of wild cat of a greyish colour, that had been caught in the woods by one of the sailors, after he had cut off one of its fore legs; this animal leaps like a squirrel from tree to tree, and not only fastens upon the branches with its claws, but even with its tail, by which it frequently suspends itself either for sport or rest. These hogs, though naturally very fierce, no sooner saw this animal, than they ran terrified about the deck, when the Admiral perceiving their fright, ordered one of them to be brought near the cat, which instantly twisted its tail round the hog's snout, and fastening the fore-leg that remained upon its head, would soon have dispatched it, had not the men interposed.

On the 5th of *October* the Admiral sailed into the bay of *Caravaro*, which is six leagues in length, and about three in breadth. Here they found many small islands, with channels between them,

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them, through some of which the ships sailed as were in lanes, the trees on each side brushing against the shrouds. As soon as they anchored in this bay, the boats were sent to one of the islands, where there were 20 canoes on the shore, the people lying near them quite naked, having only a gold plate about their necks. They expressed no signs of fear, but for three bells gave a gold plate that weighed ten ducats, and said there was great plenty of that metal on the Continent, at a small distance from the shore.

The next day the boats were sent on shore upon the Continent, and in their way met with two canoes full of people, who refusing to barter their gold plates, two of the chief persons amongst them were taken, in order that the Admiral might obtain some intelligence from them by means of the *Cariari* interpreters. The gold plate worn by one of these men weighed 14 ducats, and the other's 22, and these confirmed what the islanders said of the gold, which was to be found at the distance of two days journey up in the country. In this bay they took great numbers of fish, and on shore they found a large quantity of fresh provisions, and also great plenty of roots and fruit. The men are painted all over of several colours, as red, black, and white, and had no other covering besides a narrow cotton cloth which hung round the waist.

From this bay the Admiral sailed into another very near it, and on the 17th pursued his voyage twelve leagues farther to the river *Guaiga*; when, ordering out the boats to go ashore, the men were furiously assaulted by above 100 *Indians*,

dians, who ran up to their middles in the sea brandishing their lances, blowing horns, and throwing sea-water towards the *Spaniards*, whom they also spouted the juice of some shrub they were chewing, with signs of detestation and defiance. The *Spaniards*, without either approaching or retreating, endeavoured to appease them, which at length they effected, and at last exchanged sixteen gold plates, worth 160 ducats, for a few bells and other baubles. However, notwithstanding this friendly intercourse the next day the natives lay in ambush for the boats; but perceiving that no body would venture to land without knowing what disposition they were in, they rushed into the water, as before, and even threatened to throw their javelins, provided the boats that lay upon their oars did not return to their ships. The *Spaniards* at length, exasperated at this insolent behaviour, wounded one of them with an arrow; and at the same time the Admiral, firing one of his guns so terrified them, that they fled with precipitation; when four men landing invited them by signs to return, on which laying down their arms, they came back, and very peaceably exchanged their gold plates.

The Admiral then proceeded on his voyage and casting anchor in the mouth of a great river the people of the country were seen to assemble and soon after sent two men in a canoe to the ships, who having talked with the *Cariari* interpreters, came aboard without any apprehensions and by the advice of those *Indians* gave them gold plates to the Admiral, who in return presented them with some trifles. This canoe re-

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turning, another appeared with three men, who behaved in the same manner; and amity being thus established, the *Spaniards* went ashore, where they found a great number of *Indians* with their King, who only differed from the rest in being covered with a large leaf of a tree, because it then rained very hard. This prince, to set his subjects an example, exchanged his plate, and bid them barter for theirs; which they instantly did, and the *Spaniards* received nineteen plates of pure gold. Here they saw an old wall, which seemed to be built with stone and lime; and this being the first part of the *Indies* where *Columbus* had discovered signs of a solid and regular structure, he brought away a piece of it as a memorial.

The Admiral now sailing with a fresh gale to the eastward, held on his course to five towns of great trade, among which was *Veragua*, where the *Indians* said the gold was gathered, and the plates made, which they wore about their necks, and continuing his voyage, he arrived at an harbour, to which he gave the name of *Porto-Bello*, or *Beautiful Port*, from its being very spacious, and encompassed by a fine and populous country. He entered this harbour on the second of *November*, passing between two small islands, within which the ships lay close to the shore, where he was obliged by the rain and bad weather, to continue seven days during which he was constantly visited by the people in canoes, who came from the adjacent country to barter fine spun cotton and provisions for pins, points, and other trifles.

On the 9th he sailed eight leagues to the eastward, but the next day was forced four leagues back by stress of weather, and putting in among the islands near the Continent where the town of *Nombre de Dios* now stands, called the place *Puerto de Bastimentos*, or the *Port of Provisions*; because all those small islands were covered with corn. Here a boat well manned being sent in pursuit of a canoe, the *Indians* were so frightened that they threw themselves into the sea, and swam away, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the *Spaniards* to take some of them; for when a boat approached any of these *Indians* they dived like a duck, and came up at the distance of a bow shot.

Columbus staid here refitting the ships 'till the 23d of *November*, when he continued his course eastward, trading with the *Indians* on the coast for provisions, and such pieces of gold as hung at their ears and noses. On the 24th, he entered a small port, which he named *the Retreat*, from its being able to contain no more than five or six ships, and its being only 15 or 20 paces wide at the mouth. On both sides, the rocks appeared above water, but the channel between them was so deep as not to be fathomed, though if the ships inclined to either side the men might leap on shore. The Admiral was induced to enter this confined harbour, by the misrepresentations of those who were sent to view it, whose avarice rendering them fond of dealing with the *Indians*, they were glad of lying close to the shore, in order to have a constant opportunity of changing trifles for gold.

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7 AP 53



*The Indians flying in Confusion at
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The *Indians* at first came very familiarly to trade with the ships, 'till being provoked by the insolence and dissolute behaviour of the seamen, they began to have recourse to arms, and some skirmishes passed between them. As their numbers daily increased, their courage rose in proportion, and they at length seemed resolved to board the ships, when the Admiral having in vain attempted to appease them by patience and acts of civility, found that he was obliged to alter his behaviour, in order to convince them of his importance, and therefore commanded some of his guns to be fired; but this noise, which they found unattended with any consequences, gave them no apprehensions, and therefore they answered it with shouts, and beating the trees with staves, and by threatening signs shewed that they did not fear the noise. Upon which *Columbus* ordered one of the guns to be loaded with ball, and fired at a company of these *Indians* assembled upon a small eminence, when the ball falling in the midst of them made them sensible that he could make use of a thunderbolt as well as of thunder; for they fled with the utmost consternation, and for the future they durst not appear even on the mountains.

These were the best shaped *Indians* of any they had yet seen; they were tall and slender, without the prominent bellies frequent in these parts. The country afforded but few trees and little grass, and in the harbour there were very large alligators, which went upon the shore to sleep, whence they diffused so strong a scent that it seemed as if all the musk in the world was gathered together. If they found a man sleeping

ing they would drag him to the water to devour him, but were fearful and timorous when attacked.

The ships had been nine days confined here by bad weather, when *Columbus* perceiving that violent winds from the East and North-East continued to blow without ceasing, and that it was impossible to trade any longer with the inhabitants of this coast, resolved to return, in order to obtain satisfaction about what he had heard of the mines of *Veragua*, and therefore on the 5th of *Decembor* he sailed back to *Porto-Bello*; but the next day, while he held on his course, the wind shifted to the West; however, not thinking this a settled gale, he bore up against it for some days, during which the weather was so extremely boisterous and unsettled, that the sailors could scarce stand upon the deck; they had heavy and incessant rains, the air was filled with lightening, and the thunder roared incessantly. The men who were constantly wet to the skin, and exposed to all the violence of the storm, began to be terrified, and filled with despair, especially on their finding that when the weather seemed a little to favour their sailing to *Veragua*, the wind veered about, and drove them towards *Porto-Bello*, and when they were in hopes of entering that harbour, they were beat off again. In the midst of this danger and distraction, they were near being overwhelmed by a water spout; and, to complete their misfortunes, they lost sight of one of the ships which they concluded was lost, 'till they saw her again at the end of three dark and dismal days, in which she had been obliged to

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cast anchor, and had afterwards been driven to sea with the loss of her anchor and boat.

The men were now not only quite spent with cold, hunger, and fatigue, but the ships almost shattered to pieces by the tempest, when they were relieved by a calm which lasted two days, during which they were surrounded by a prodigious number of sharks, that would bite at the hook, though baited only with a red rag. These had a dreadful appearance to the superstitious sailors, who imagined that as the ravens are said to smell out dead bodies at a great distance, so these ravenous fish were an omen of their destruction, and were ready to devour them as soon as the ships should fall to pieces. Many of these fish were caught, and from the belly of one of them was taken an intire turtle, and from another the whole head of a shark, which the sailors had caught and thrown into the sea; so that the individuals of this species seem to prey upon each other. The sailors, however, notwithstanding their apprehensions, and this fish being allowed to make a very indifferent meal, eat them with great eagerness; for they had been now eight months at sea, and had consumed all their provisions except their biscuit, part of which was so full of maggots, that many delayed eating it until it was dark, to avoid seeing what they were obliged to swallow.

On the 17th of *December* the Admiral entered into a large harbour, where he permitted his men to repose themselves for three days; during which, going ashore, they found that the inhabitants lived in huts built upon the tops of trees,

trees, sticks being laid from bough to bough; and the huts erected upon them: A custom which must have arisen from the fear of wild beasts, or of land-floods.

In the beginning of *January* 1503, they cast anchor near a river, which the Admiral named *Belem* or *Bethlem*, from his arriving there on the feast of the *Epiphany*. To the westward of this river was that of *Veragua*, the water of which was shallow; however the boats went up it to the town, where they were informed that they should find the gold mines of *Veragua* so often mentioned. The *Indians* at first stood upon their guard, in order to oppose the landing of the *Spaniards*; but an *Indian* interpreter going ashore, and representing them in a favourable light, the natives were pacified, and exchanged with them twenty gold plates, some hollow pieces of the same metal like joints of reeds, and some grains of gold that had never been melted; but to enhance their value they pretended they were gathered upon certain mountains at a great distance.

On the 9th the Admiral's ship, attended by one of the others, sailed up the river *Belem*, when the *Indians* soon came to barter with the *Spaniards*, bringing fish, which at some seasons of the year come up these rivers in incredible numbers; they exchanged some gold for pins, beads, and hawk bells, and the next day the ship was joined by the two others which had staid behind for want of water.

On the third day after their arrival, *Bartolomew Columbus* went up the river with the boats to a town belonging to a Cacique named *Quibio*,
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7 AP 52



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who hearing of the Lieutenant's design, came in his canoe to meet him, and having received each other in a friendly manner, discoursed by means of their interpreter for a long time together. The next day the same Prince visited the Admiral, made him some presents, and after a conversation which lasted an hour, during which his people exchanged some gold for bells, retired well pleased with his reception.

They had lived five days in this friendly manner, when the river suddenly swelled to such a surprising height, and rushed down with such impetuosity, that the Admiral's ship parted her cable, and running foul of the ship *Galega*, brought the foremast by the board, and both the vessels were in danger of perishing. This sudden swell of the river was suppose to proceed from a violent shower that had fallen upon the mountains of *Veragua*, which the Admiral named *St. Christopher's*, from their tops reaching above the clouds. On the 6th of February, the ships being caulked and refitted, the Admiral sent his brother with 68 men in boats to the river *Veragua*, the mouth of which was at a league's distance from that of *Belem*; when rowing up, they arrived at the Cacique's town, where they staid a whole day, enquiring the way to the mines. In consequence of the intelligence they received, they, the next day, travelled four leagues and a half, and came to a river which on account of its windings they passed forty-four times; the day following they arrived at the place to which they were directed, and in two hours time every man had gathered some gold about

about the roots of the trees, which were very thick and of a prodigious height. This sample was much valued, as none of those who went had any tools to dig, or had before ever gathered any. As the sole aim of this expedition was to obtain information relating to the mines, they returned well pleased to the ships, though, as they afterwards learned, the place they called the mines from which they had picked it were not those of *Veragua*. which lay much nearer, but of *Uirira*, a town belonging to a people at war with the Cacique *Quibia*; who had artfully directed the *Spaniards* to his enemies mines, instead of his own.

On the 14th of *February* the Admiral's brother went into the country with forty men, followed by a boat with 14, and marched to the river of *Uirira*, seven leagues west of *Belem*. The next day he was met by the Cacique, attended by 20 men, who made them a present of provisions and some gold plates. During this intercourse the *Indians* chewed a dry herb, and sometimes added to it a sort of powder. Having rested a while in this place, the *Spaniards* and *Indians* went together to the town, whence abundance of people came out to meet them, and a house being provided for their lodging, they were hospitably entertained. Soon after came the Cacique of a neighbouring town named *Durira*, attended by a great number of *Indians*, who brought some gold plates to barter, and told the Lieutenant that up in the country there were Caciques who had great quantities

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of gold, and that there were many men armed like the *Spaniards*.

The next day Don *Bartholomew* marched with 30 men towards *Zobabra*, after his having ordered the rest to return by land to the ships. He here saw the ground for about six leagues covered with maize, and cultivated like the corn fields of *Europe*. At *Zobabra* he was kindly entertained by the natives, as he was also at another town called *Cateba*, at both which places he purchased some gold plates; but having now advanced a considerable way from the ships, without discovering any harbour along the coast or river, larger than that of *Belem*, where he might conveniently settle a colony, he returned with a good quantity of gold to the place from which he had taken his departure, and where it was now agreed to make a settlement under his command.

Proper dispositions being made, the sailors began to build, about a cannon shot from the mouth of the river *Belem*, houses of timber, which they covered with the palm-tree leaves that grew along the shore, and a large building was also erected to serve as a storehouse and magazine, in which several pieces of cannon, with powder, provisions, and other necessaries, were lodged for the support of the planters; while a quantity of wine, oil, vinegar, cheese and grain was deposited on board the ship *Galega*, which was to be left with the Lieutenant, with cordage, nets, hooks and other fishing tackle for the use of the colony. Indeed these could not fail of being of signal service in a country that

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abounds with such quantities of fish, which are caught by the natives with hooks made of tortoiseshell.

The houses being erected, and proper regulations made for the preservation of the new colony, the Admiral resolved to return to *Spain*; but his voyage was effectually prevented by want of water to carry the ships out of the river, and by a terrible surf that beat upon the shore and threatened immediate destruction to any vessel that should approach it: To render these circumstances the more unfortunate, the rains, which alone could swell the river, were past; the bottoms of the ships were so worm-eaten that they resembled honey-combs, and to complete their vexation, one of their interpreters reported that *Quibio* intended to set fire to the houses of the *Spaniards*, who, contrary to his inclination, and to that of his people, had made a settlement in his dominions.

Upon this occasion the Admiral concerted measures with his brother for seizing the Cacique with his principal men, in order to carry them to *Spain*, as hostages for the good behaviour of his subjects: An expedient, which, however politic, was not at all agreeable to the humanity of *Christopher Columbus* on other occasions, and equally inconsistent with all the laws of nature and nations. However, on the 30th of *March*, the Lieutenant attended by above 70 men proceeded to *Veragua*, which consisted of straggling houses, and, at a small distance from that place, was desired by a messenger from the Cacique not to come up to his house, which stood upon

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a hill; but, notwithstanding this request, the Lieutenant resolved to proceed with only five men, ordering the rest to follow two by two at some distance, and when they should hear a musket fired, to beset the houses, and let no body escape. On his approaching *Quibio's* residence, he was met by another messenger, who entreated him not to enter the house, and told him that the Cacique himself would come out, though he was wounded by an arrow. *Quibio*, on his coming to the door agreeably to his promise, was immediately seized by the Lieutenant, and the musket being fired, the house was soon surrounded by the rest of the *Spaniards*, and about 30 persons made prisoners, without the least opposition, among whom were the wives and children of the Cacique, with some of his principal subjects, who offered to ransom themselves with a large quantity of gold that was concealed in an adjoining wood. But the Lieutenant, disregarding the offers, ordered them all to be bound and carried on board, before the country should take the alarm; intending himself to stay with the greatest part of the men, to secure some of *Quibio's* kindred and subjects, whom he had not been able to take; he therefore delivered the prisoners to *Juan Sanchez de Cadiz*, an able Pilot, who with great confidence and alacrity undertook to carry them on board to the Admiral. The Pilot embarked with them in the boat, when *Quibio* complaining that his hands were too hard bound, *Sanchez*, moved by compassion, loosed them, but kept the rope with which he was tyed in his own hand. The Cacique now finding his hands at liberty took

an opportunity while the Pilot was looking another way to plunge into the river, which he did with such violence, that *Sanchez* quitted the rope in order to save himself; and as it began to grow dark, and the boat was instantly filled with confusion, it was impossible to hear or see how he got on shore.

The Lieutenant perceiving that it would be impossible to over take the fugitive *Indians*, the next day returned with the men to the ships, and presented the plunder of *Quibio's* house, which was worth 300 ducats in gold plates, to his brother, who, after deducting the fifth part for their Catholic Majesties, divided the remainder among those who were employed in this expedition.

Soon after this the rain fell, and the floods coming down, opened the mouth of the river, upon which the Admiral sailed out with three ships, leaving one for the service of his brother. He however came to an anchor at a league's distance, in order to wait for fair weather, and in the mean time sent back the boat for water.

Quibio seeing that the three ships were gone, and being grieved and provoked at the loss of his wives and children, and also exasperated at the violence offered to himself, resolved openly to attack the settlement. The woods by which it was surrounded facilitated this enterprize, and enabled the *Indians* unperceived to reach a spot within ten paces of the houses, from whence they rushed upon the Christians with dreadful shouts, throwing their javelins, not only at those who appeared, but also through the slender roofs, so that four or five were dangerously wounded

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wounded before the *Spaniards* were able to put themselves in a posture of defence. Don *Bartholomew* however being a man of great courage and resolution sallied out upon the enemy with seven or eight of his men, and notwithstanding the *Indians* several times rallied, drove them into the wood; but though the *Indians* would not engage hand to hand, after they had felt the edge of the *European* swords, and the teeth of a dog, by which they were furiously attacked, they continued to throw their javelins at a distance till they were driven from their covert, and obliged to fly, after they had killed one *Spaniard*, and wounded seven others, amongst whom was the Lieutenant.

Captain *James Tristan*, whom the Admiral had sent ashore with the boat, and who appeared just as the *Indians* were obliged to retire into the wood, stood an idle spectator during the engagement, without suffering any of his men to land; and, the battle being over, rowed a full league up the river to take in fresh water, at a place quite covered with wood; when the *Indians* sallying from the grove in their canoes, attacked him with a shower of javelins, and though the Captain sustained their onset with great gallantry, both he and the whole boat's crew were soon slain, one person only happening to fall over-board in the midst of the fray, dived to the bottom, reached the shore, and passed through the wood to the colony, where he gave an account of the disaster.

The colony was so terrified at this news, that they would immediately have abandoned the settlement,

tlement, and joined the Admiral in the ship he had left them, had they not been prevented by the lowness of the water at the mouth of the river, which was not sufficient to float their vessel, and the sea beat with such violence over the bar, that no boat could be sent to the Admiral with advice of their distress. He himself rode in a very dangerous open road without his long boat, and was ignorant of the unhappy fate of the Captain and his crew, 'till he had the mortification to see their bodies driving down the river, covered with wounds and preyed upon by a number of carrion crows. This melancholy spectacle spread great despondence amongst his people, who concluded that the whole colony had perished. Mean while the *Indians*, elated at the advantage they had gained, returned to the attack of the settlement, which they carried on day and night without intermission, so that every *Spaniard* must have fallen a sacrifice to their resentment, had they not removed to an open strand, where they formed a barricado of casks and other lumber, and planted their cannon in such a manner as to make great havock amongst the enemy, who became terrified at those dreadful instruments of slaughter.

The Admiral waited ten days for fair weather, in order to send the only boat that now remained for intelligence, and to add to these vexations several of the *Indian* prisoners who were confined in hold burst open the hatches in the night, lept into the sea and swam ashore, and those that remained, being disappointed in their hopes of escaping in the same manner,

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hanged themselves, by which means they had no hostages, by whom they might make a peace with *Quibio*.

As the weather still continued boisterous, and the *Spaniards* on board grew extremely impatient to learn the fate of their companions, one of the sailors offered to swim ashore, provided he might be carried in the boat to the place where the surf began to run high. This proposal, which was gladly embraced by the Admiral, was soon put in execution, and the sailor having obtained sufficient intelligence from the colony, swam off again, and gave a circumstantial account of all that had happened, and of the particulars of the divisions and dissensions which had now arisen amongst the men, who paid no regard to Don *Bartholomew's* authority, and were unanimous in nothing but their resolution to leave the place. They desired to be immediately taken on board, and resolved, if that was refused them, to put to sea in their own rotten vessels, since they had rather trust to the mercy of the waves, than continue exposed to the resentment of the savages. Upon this *Columbus* agreed to send for them, and the weather becoming favourable, they left the country, taking with them all their goods and effects in the boat and some canoes, which they lashed together, leaving nothing behind them, but the hulk of the ship, which was unfit for service.

The company being thus to their mutual joy, re-assembled, the Admiral sailed to the eastward as far as *Porto-Bello*, where he was obliged to leave one of his ships, which was so leaky and worm eaten that she could not proceed, and

and continued his course 'till the 10th of *May*, when he observed two small islands, which he named *Tortugas*, from the great number of turtle found there. Then continuing his course 30 leagues to the northward, he arrived at the islands called *Jardin de la Reyna*, or *the Queen's Gardens*, ten leagues to the south of *Cuba*, by which time the ships were so leaky, that the men were harrassed by working at the pumps, though, as they had scarcely any provisions left, they were but little able to support such fatigue. In this unhappy situation they were overtaken by a dreadful storm, in which the ship *Bermuda* ran foul of the Admiral, and both were in the greatest danger of being foundered, and the same night they narrowly escaped being wrecked upon some sharp rocks.

The wind being at length abated, the Admiral sailed to an *Indian* town on the coast of *Cuba*, where having purchased some refreshments, he stood over to *Jamaica*, pumping and baling all the way, notwithstanding which the water rose up almost to the deck. In this situation he put into an harbour called *Puerto Rueno*, but finding no fresh water there, steered to the eastward into another called *Santa Gloria*, where finding it impossible to keep the ships afloat, he ran them ashore, along side of each other, causing them to be propped up on each side to keep them upright, and sheds to be made on the pump and forecastle to secure the sailors from the inclemencies of the weather and the attempts of the *Indians*.

He here made it his study to oblige the natives, who resorted in great numbers to the ships

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ships with what they had to barter, and appointed two persons to superintend the market, and prevent frauds or abuses, as well as to divide what was purchased equally among the sailors. This regulation was both agreeable to his own men and to the *Indians*, who exchanged two small animals like rabbits for a bit of tin, and two of their cakes of bread for two green or yellow beads, and things of greater value for a hawk's bell: and sometimes a Cacique or other considerable person had a present of a pair of scissars, or a small looking-glass.

The Admiral having consulted with the officers on the best means of leaving that island, it was agreed to send an account of their situation to *Nicholas de Obando*, Governor of *Hispaniola*, and to *Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal*, the Admiral's factor there, to desire that a ship might be freighted, and sent to their relief at the Admiral's expence. Two canoes were chosen for this dangerous expedition, in one of which *James Mendes de Segura*, the Admiral's chief secretary embarked, with six *Spaniards* and ten *Indians* to row it, and *Bartholomew Fiesco*, a *Genoese* gentleman, went with the same number of hands on board the other, with orders to return immediately with the news of their safe arrival. They then rowed to the easternmost point of *Jamaica*, under the conduct of the Admiral's brother, who took care to supply them with every thing necessary for the voyage, which was a very extraordinary one to be performed by canoes, since the distance between the two islands amounted to 30 leagues, without any intervening land, except a small rock or island about eight leagues
from

from the coast of *Hispaniola*. Don *Bartholomew* made them wait for a calm, and then ordering them to prosecute their voyage, staid 'till they were out of sight.

They launched out at night, the *Indians* who rowed sometimes leaping into the water to cool themselves, and then returning to the oar again. The second day after their departure they all began to be much tired; but the two chiefs encouraged the men, advising them to eat in order to recover their strength. The *Indians*, being heated by the sun and by labouring at the oar, soon emptied their calabashes of water, and the heat increasing, their thirst increased with it, so that by noon they had no strength left. They were then relieved by the Commanders frequently giving them something to drink out of their rundlets, which supported them 'till the cool of the evening. They were soon greatly distressed with the apprehension that they had lost their way, and had missed a little island eight leagues from *Hispaniola*, where they expected to refresh themselves; and that afternoon they threw an *Indian* over-board, who died with thirst; others lay stretched out, and quite disabled while the rest expected death, and held salt-water in their mouths to cool them; but could receive no comfort from it.

They proceeded the second night without seeing the island, 'till the moon rising it was happily discovered, when they all joined in encouraging the *Indians*, shewed them the land, and gave them small sips of water, which so revived their spirits, that by break of day they arrived at the island. They however found it

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to be a solid rock about half a league in compass, without a single tree or spring of water; yet going about from one cliff to another, they collected in the hollows more than was necessary to quench their thirsts; for being scorched with drought, they drank so much that some of the poor *Indians* died upon the spot, and others fell sick. There they staid 'till the afternoon, and having rested and refreshed themselves with the shell-fish they picked up along the shore, went on board in the evening, and steered to the nearest land of *Hispaniola*, where they arrived early in the morning. *Fiesco*, having rested two days, was desirous of returning to the Admiral according to his promise, but was obliged to desist, because neither the sailors nor *Indians* would accompany him in the voyage. *Mendes*, though he laboured under a quartan ague, occasioned by his sufferings at sea, immediately set out for *Xaragua*, where he informed the Governor of the Admiral's situation, and, after much importunity, obtained leave to purchase a ship at *St. Domingo*.

To return to the island of *Jamaica*: Soon after the departure of the canoes, the men who were left behind began to grow sickly, in consequence of a change of provisions, and the fatigue they had suffered, whence a spirit of discontent diffused itself among them. They now privately murmured and caballed against the Admiral, whom they accused of being the cause of all their misfortunes. The chief promoters of these discontents were two brothers whose names were *Porras*, one of whom had been

been captain of the ship *Bermuda*, and the other purser of the fleet. And these having gained over 48 of the men, resolved to declare their intentions. Accordingly on the 2d of January, 1504, Captain *Francis de Porras*, whom they had chosen for their leader, went upon the quarter-deck, and addressing himself to the Admiral, asked, *What is the reason, my Lord, that you will not return to Spain, but keep us here to perish?* From this insolent question Columbus readily suspected that a mutiny was formed, and very calmly replied, that he did not see how it was possible for them to return to *Spain*, 'till they were assisted by a vessel from *Hispaniola*, and that they well knew, he had already, by their unanimous advice, sent for a ship, and if they had any better method to offer, they might propose it. *Francis de Porras* replied, that there was no need of much advising, and that he might embark immediately or stay behind, and then turning his back, added, *I will go to Spain with all that will follow me*, and being immediately seconded by all the mutineers, after causing much confusion on board the ship, seized ten canoes which the Admiral had bought of the *Indians*, and being joined by many who were sick, went to the eastern point of *Jamaica*, whence *Mendes* and *Fiesco* had departed for *Hispaniola*. In their way they committed all manner of outrages upon the poor *Indians*, whom they advised to apply for redress to the Admiral, and to put him to death if he refused to give them satisfaction, adding that his design in staying was to involve them in

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such miseries as he had already entailed upon the inhabitants of the other islands.

Having reached the point, they attempted to pass over to *Hispaniola* with some *Indians* whom they had compelled to go on board every canoe to serve as rowers; but they had not got four leagues from land, when the wind which was contrary beginning to freshen, and the sea to rise, they thought fit to lighten the canoes, which were heavy laden, by throwing what they had over board, except some provisions, water, and their arms, and at last the poor *Indians* who rowed. These unhappy people swam 'till they were weary, and then hung by their canoes to recover themselves, when the barbarous ruffians cut off their hands, and thus eighteen of these poor creatures perished, and none would have escaped, had not these inhuman monsters for their own sakes kept a few to row them back to *Jamaica*.

On their returning ashore, some were for taking the advantage of the easterly wind and currents for passing over to *Cuba*, whence they would have a short cut to *Hispaniola*; others were for returning and making peace with the Admiral, or depriving him by force of all he had in his possession. But it was agreed by a majority of voices, that they should wait for a calm, and then make another attempt to pass directly to *Hispaniola*. They staid a month or six weeks waiting for this opportunity at an *Indian* town near that cape, during which they plundered the poor natives; but having made two unsuccessful efforts to perform the voyage, quitted their canoes,

noes, and rambled from place to place, sometimes bartering with the people for provisions, and sometimes taking them by force.

Christopher Columbus exerted all his address to remove the bad impressions made by the mutineers on the minds of the *Indians*, by which means he engaged them to supply him with provisions, and at the same time employed his humanity in the relief of the sick, all of whom recovered: but his being constantly supplied with provisions, producing a scarcity amongst the *Indians*, who sowed little more than was just necessary for their subsistence, they began to grow remiss in their attendance, and he being no longer plentifully supplied, more of his men revolted, and the natives who were already stocked with the commodities brought by the *Spaniards*, no longer considered *Columbus* as in a situation that commanded respect or obedience.

In this dilemma the Admiral fell upon a very extraordinary expedient for retrieving his character and affairs with these savages. As he knew that there would be an eclipse of the moon within three days, he sent an *Indian* of *Hispaniola*, who was on board and spoke *Spanish*, to assemble the Cacique and principal men of that district, in order to confer with them on an affair in which they were nearly concerned, and they obeying the summons the day before the eclipse, he told them by his interpreter, that he and his people were Christians and believed in God, who created Heaven and Earth, rewarded the righteous and punished the wicked, and therefore would not suffer the rebellious

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Spaniards to pass over to *Hispaniola*, though he had conducted *Mendes* and *Fiesco* to that island: that the same Almighty Being was displeased at the *Indians* for neglecting to supply his distressed servants with provisions in exchange for their commodities, and was therefore determined to punish them with pestilence and famine, as a proof of which God would give a token of his anger in the sky, and that very night they should see the moon rising with a bloody aspect to point out the punishment God would inflict upon them.

This prediction had different effects upon the *Indians*, some of whom went away in a fright, while others laughed at it as an idle story; but on their perceiving the moon actually eclipsed, and darkness increasing as she rose, they were universally filled with consternation, and running from all quarters loaded with provisions, intreated the Admiral to intercede with God, and prevail on him to be no longer angry with them, and that for the future they would take care to supply all his wants.

The Admiral replied, that he would offer up his prayers for them, and then shutting himself up, 'till the eclipse was at the height and ready to decrease, told them that he had been offering up his petitions to Heaven for their preservation and that God had been so good as to forgive them, on their promise of being kind and hospitable to the Christians, and as a testimony of his forgiveness, they should see the moon by degrees resume her former splendor. In short the *Indians* perceiving the eclipse disappear, praised the God

of the Christians, returned the Admiral many thanks, and continued to supply him plentifully with provisions; for though some of them had formerly seen such eclipses, they all thought it impossible to foretel them, without an immediate correspondence with the Deity, and therefore considered *Columbus* as in a peculiar manner the favourite of Heaven.

Eight months having elapsed, since the departure of *Mendes* and *Fiesco*, without the Admiral's obtaining the least intelligence of them, the people, supposing they had either perished at sea, or been killed by the *Indians* of *Hispaniola* in their way to *St. Domingo*, began to be extremely dejected, and their fears were confirmed by a canoe which they found overfet and driven by the current upon the coast. These apprehensions daily increasing, at length produced a second conspiracy, headed by one *Bernard*, an apothecary of *Valencia*, and two of his companions, who, in imitation of the other mutineers, formed a scheme for deserting the Admiral; but its execution was prevented by the arrival of a vessel sent by the governor of *Hispaniola*. The Captain, whose name was *James de Escobar*, having come to anchor near the wrecks, came in his boat to deliver a letter with compliments from the governor, and presented the Admiral with a cask of wine and two fitches of bacon, and these being delivered, *Escobar* weighed anchor and sailed back the same evening.

Columbus was greatly mortified at his abrupt departure; but however made use of this event to put an end to this second conspiracy; for he

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told the men, that as he had resolved not to go away without them, and as that little caraval was not sufficient to carry them all, *Escobar* went away so suddenly that he might lose no time in bringing them relief. This declaration had such an effect on the conspirators, that they immediately laid aside all thoughts of their designs; but the true reason of the ship's arrival was, that *Lares*, governor of *Hispaniola*, was apprehensive that the Admiral would, upon his return to *Spain*, be re-instated in his government, and had sent *Escobar* to observe his situation, and whether he might not easily be destroyed. However, from this caravel *Columbus* received certain intelligence of the safe arrival of *Mendes* and *Fiesco* at *Hispaniola*, and did not doubt but that in consequence of their remonstrances, he should be speedily relieved.

The Admiral being desirous of reducing the mutineers who had behaved in so scandalous and base a manner, rather by fair means than by force, sent two persons to acquaint them with the advice he had received, to desire them to return, and to let them know, that, in that case, no notice should be taken of what had happened: but *Francis de Porras*, dreading the consequences of a re-union, met these messengers at a distance, and answered, that they would not trust the Admiral; but would behave themselves peaceably in the island if he would promise to procure a ship to carry them off. Or if he had but one, assign one half of it to them for their own convenience, and give them an half share of the cloaths and commodities that were still in his possession, since they had lost all their own effects,

otherwise they would come and take the whole by force of arms. As for the caravel from *Hispaniola*, they asserted that it was only a delusion, which the Admiral, who was a great magician, had raised by enchantment.

The mutineers actually resolved to put their threats in execution, and marched to an *Indian* village within a quarter of a league of the wrecks, when the Admiral being informed of their design, sent his brother with 50 men well armed to expostulate with them and persuade them to return to their duty; but to refrain from all acts of hostility 'till they should be first attacked. Don *Bartholomew* posted himself on a rising ground within bow-shot of the mutineers, and then sent the two messengers the Admiral had employed before to offer terms of peace; but the mutineers treating this condescension as the effect of fear, they fell upon his men with great confidence of victory: six of the boldest having solemnly sworn to fight their way to the Lieutenant, whose death they imagined would disconcert his followers. However they were disappointed, for at the very first charge five of them were slain. *Francis de Porras* boldly singled out the Lieutenant, and at one blow clove his target down to his hand, which he wounded: but not being able suddenly to recover his sword was made prisoner, after his having received several wounds. The Lieutenant then rushed upon the enemy, and being seconded by his men, obliged them to fly with precipitation, and having obtained a compleat victory, returned to the wreck with a good number of prisoners.

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The next day the fugitives sent a petition to the Admiral, in which they confessed their fault, begged pardon, and promised to serve him faithfully for the future; and this they solemnly swore to perform. The Admiral instantly granted them a free pardon, and took them again into his protection; but to prevent future animosities, kept *Francis de Perras* a close prisoner, and appointed a proper person to command and lead them about the island, in order the better to procure subsistence in exchange for the commodities with which he caused them to be supplied.

In this posture were affairs in *Jamaica*, where the Admiral had been a full year, when a ship arrived freighted by *James Mendes*, attended by a caravel, and *Columbus* embarking with his whole company on the 28th of *June*, 1504, set sail for *Hispaniola*, but the wind and current being contrary, they had a troublesome voyage, and did not reach *St. Domingo* 'till the 13th of *August*. The governor with all the city went out to meet him, paying him many compliments, and lodged him in his own house, but this outward shew of respect was meer affectation, for he caused *Francis de Perras* to be set at liberty, and threatened to punish those who had adhered to the Admiral in his greatest dangers.

Columbus being sensible of the deceitful manner in which he was treated, and of the true motives of the Governor's behaviour, chose to conceal his resentment, prepared for his departure, and on the 12th of *September* embarked on board a ship provided by his agents, and also took with him the vessel that had brought him and his people

people from *Jamaica*; but they were no sooner out of port than the main mast of the lesser vessel came by the board. Upon which he ordered her back to *St. Domingo*, and continued his voyage in the other. He had not however been long at sea before he met with a violent tempest, wherein all on board expected every moment to perish, and in which they lost their main mast; but making a jury mast of the yard, they continued their voyage, and after being exposed to another storm, that carried away their fore mast, arrived at the port of *St. Lucar*.

Columbus upon his landing was greatly afflicted at the news of the death of his best friend and only patroness, Queen *Isabella*; for though King *Ferdinand* always treated him with some degree of respect, he well knew, that he was far from having any real kindness for him, or ever any inclination to do him justice. That Prince thought the advantages he had stipulated for himself were too considerable, and therefore, instead of fulfilling his engagement, offered him a large estate in *Spain* in exchange for what was his due in the *West-Indies*. *Columbus*, who was confined to his bed, was extremely displeased at this treatment: but while he was endeavouring to obtain his just demands, his solicitations were interrupted by King *Ferdinand's* taking a journey from *Valladolid* to *Laredo* to wait for his son-in-law King *Philip*, and Queen *Johannah* his daughter, and before *Ferdinand's* return, *Columbus's* illness increasing, he died on the 20th of *May*, 1506, aged sixty-four. His body was conveyed to the monastery of the Carthusians at *Seville*, where some authors say that he was magnificently

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nificently interred in the cathedral of that city, and a monument erected to his memory, on which is the following inscription,

A CASTILIA, YA LEON,
NUEVO MUNDO DIO COLON.

In English.

To Castile and Leon,
Columbus gave a New World.

Others assert that his body was carried from the above monastery to the city of *St. Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, and that he lies interred in the chancel of the cathedral, which may probably be true, notwithstanding the above monument erected to his honour at *Seville*.

Thus died this truly great man, who was the son of a woolcomber, of *Congureto*, a village in the territory of *Genoa*: by his abilities he only raised himself and his family to nobility, but rendered himself by his discoveries the greatest man of the age in which he lived. He was however in many respects treated with ingratitude both by the King and those who were under his own command, and it is no small blemish to King *Ferdinand's* character, that he did not do justice to his merit, but always meanly endeavoured to falsify his engagements with him. To *Columbus* justly belonged the honour of giving a name to the new World, which from him ought to have been called *Columba*, while the name of *America* was bestowed on what he discovered from that of *Americus Vesputius*, who had no just title to that honour. *Columbus* by discovering a new World, opened
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new sources of commerce; he settled *Hispaniola*; took a view of *Cuba*; visited and resided for a considerable time in *Jamaica*; bestowed the name of *St. John* on the island of *Porto Rico*; and discovered almost all that could be properly called the *West-Indies*. He indeed but barely saw the Continent, but then he saw both parts of it, and the isthmus that unites them: and left behind him schemes for extending these discoveries, and conjectures on the consequences that might attend them.

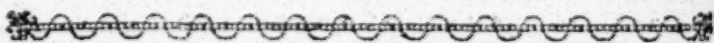
We shall conclude this account, with a description of his person, and the character given of him by a *Spanish* historian justly esteemed for his fidelity. “*Columbus* was tall of stature, had
 “ a long visage and a majestic aspect, an aqua-
 “ line nose, grey eyes, and a clear and ruddy
 “ complexion. When young his hair and beard
 “ were fair; but the many hardships he suffer-
 “ ed soon turned them grey. He was a man
 “ of wit and pleasantry, was eloquent in dis-
 “ course, and yet moderately grave. His affa-
 “ bility to strangers, and his discreet conversa-
 “ tion, gained him the affection of every ingenu-
 “ ous mind; he had an air of authority and
 “ grandeur that attracted respect. He was
 “ very strict in religion, according to the mode of
 “ his country, and obliged such as were under
 “ his command to shew at least a decent regard
 “ to it. He had an earnest concern for the
 “ conversion of the *Indians*, and endeavoured
 “ as much as was in his power to allure them,
 “ by obliging the *Spaniards* to lead a life in some
 “ measure agreeable to the faith they professed.
 “ He was a man of undaunted courage; was
 “ fond

“fond of great enterprizes; temperate in eating and drinking, and modest in his dress; he was patient, and ready to forgive wrongs, and only desirous that offenders should be sensible of their faults. He remained unmoved amidst the many troubles and adversities that attended him, ever relying on the Divine Providence. In short, had he in much earlier times performed so wonderful an enterprize as the discovery of the new World, he would probably have had not only statues and temples erected to his honour, but some star would have been dedicated to him, as was done to *Hercules* and *Bacchus*. However, his name will be remembered as long as the world endures.”





THE
Discoveries of the *Spaniards*
FROM THE
Death of COLUMBUS,
TO
CORTES'S EXPEDITION.



CHAP. I.

The State of Hispaniola under the Government of Nicholas de Obando. Porto Rico settled by Juan Ponce de Leon. Don Diego Columbus being made Governor of Hispaniola, forms a Pearl Fishery near the small Island of Cubagua.

AT the death of Christopher Columbus, Nicholas de Obando continued Governor of Hispaniola, and distinguished himself by making draughts of the coasts from a survey which he had caused to be taken, and by dividing the Indians among the Spaniards, who considered them as their vassals. Gold was almost their only pursuit, and such quantities of that valuable metal

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metal were found, that there were annually melted in the island more than the value of 150,000l. sterling, and yet this treasure was far from enriching those who were employed in amassing it; for the value of the gold in *Hispaniola* decreasing there in proportion to its plenty, and as many lived luxuriously and upon credit, it was often seized at the melting times for their debts, and was frequently insufficient to satisfy the demands of their creditors.

Mean while *Juan Ponce de Leon*, a Spanish gentleman, who had one of the provinces under his command, being informed by the *Indians* that *St. John de Porto Rico* was rich in gold, obtained a licence from *Obando* for planting a colony in it. In consequence of this he landed in the dominions of the greatest Cacique in the island, with some *Spaniards* and *Indians*, and was kindly entertained by him and his relations, who, as a peculiar mark of their friendship, changed names with him. This Cacique, at *Ponce's* desire, conducted him all over the island, and shewed him the rivers in which gold was usually found. *Ponce* afterwards left some *Spaniards*, whom he recommended to the Cacique and his mother, and sailing back to *Hispaniola*, carried samples of the gold to *Obando*; then returning with fresh supplies, he had the pleasure to find, that those he had left had been well entertained by the friendly Cacique during his absence.

While *Ponce de Leon* was thus employed in settling *Porto Rico*, *Obando* was recalled, and *Don Diego Columbus* came as his father's successor.

146 *Discoveries after COLUMBUS's Death,*

cessor, to take upon himself the government of *Hispaniola*, bringing with him from *Spain* a new Governor for *Porto Rico*; but *Ponce* disputing his authority, the young Admiral set them both aside, and appointed *Michael Cerron* Governor and *Michael Diaz* his Lieutenant; however after this, *Ponce*, by the interest of his friend *Obando* procured a commission from *Spain*, and returning to *Porto Rico*, easily found pretences for seizing *Cerron* and *Diaz*, whom he sent prisoner into *Spain*, and then prosecuted his design of conquering the island: but though he found this a more difficult task than he had imagined, the poor *Indians*, at last, in spite of the kindness with which they had treated him, were subdued and entirely enslaved. Soon after which *Ponce de Leon* was deprived of his post; for *Cerron* and *Diaz*, presenting a petition to the Court of *Spain* and being strongly supported by *Columbus's* interest, were sent back in order to possess their former employments. *Ponce*, being thus reduced to the state of a private man, fitted out two ships for making new discoveries, and on the 2 of *April*, 1512, fell in with land unknown to the *Spaniards*, in the latitude of 30. 8. and believing it to be an island, named it *Florida*, from its beautiful appearance and many pleasant groves or from his discovering it on *Easter Sunday*, which the *Spaniards* call *Pascha Florida*, it being the finest season for flowers.

But to return to *Porto Rico*. The *Indians* of the island were at length extirpated by the cruelty of the *Spaniards*; but for what reason is ver-

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hard to say, since the gold which they had been employed in gathering was all exhausted.

The island of *Porto Rico* is 120 miles in length and 60 in breadth, and its northern coast is in the 18th degree of latitude, and its southern in the 17th degree. The country consists of a pleasing variety of hills and vallies, woods and meadows, abounding in all the tropical fruits, and well watered with springs and rivers: but, like other countries within the tropics, it has periodical rains and storms, and sometimes hurricanes between Midsummer and Michaelmas*.

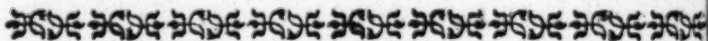
At length *Diego Columbus* made a settlement on the island of *Cubagua*, which he named *The Island of Pearls*, and established a pearl fishery on the coast, that soon became so considerable, that in some years the King's fifth of the pearls was valued at 15,000 ducats.

This island, which is 300 leagues from *Hispaniola*, and is situated in about 10. north latitude, is three leagues in compass, and has a dry and

* *Porto Rico* was conquered from the *Spaniards* by the Earl of *Cumberland*, at his own expence, and that of other private adventurers, in the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*; but losing most of his men in the latter end of the summer, when these climates are very unhealthful, he was obliged to abandon the island.

The *Spaniards* have introduced *European* cattle, fruit, and corn, and chiefly export from thence sugar, rum, and ginger. The capital, which is also called *Porto Rico* and *St. John's City*, is in a small island in the harbour on the north side, and is joined to the main island by a causeway. The town is now about a mile and a half in circumference, and is fortified by several forts and batteries; it stands on an eminence, and commands the main island on one side, and the sea on the other.

barren soil that produces no grass, and affords only a few guaiacum trees and shrubs. It had no land animals, except a few quadrupedes like rabbits, and no birds but such as are proper to the sea, which is not at all extraordinary, as it has not a single spring of fresh water.



CHAP. II.

Alonzo de Hojeda and Diego de Nicuesa, obtaining Patents for making new Discoveries, sail for the West-Indies. Hojeda, landing at Carthagena, and marching into the Country, has many of his Men cut off, and he himself narrowly escapes; but is assisted and revenged by Nicuesa. Hojeda afterwards forms the Settlement of St. Sebastian, which being unable to support, he retires to Hispaniola, where he dies of want, while the Colony is saved by the prudent Advice of Nunez de Balboa. Mean while Diego de Nicuesa plants the Colony of Nombre de Dios; but meets with many Misfortunes and dies miserably.

ABOUT this time Alonzo de Hojeda, who had served under Christopher Columbus, petitioning for a patent for making new settlements, obtained the promise of a grant of all that had been discovered on the Continent. But Diego Nicuesa, a man of greater wealth, interposing stopped the grant, and obtained half of it for himself, the court allowing the former all the country between Cape de la Vela and the Gulph of Darien, under the name of New Andalusia

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and the latter, the country from that Gulph, to Cape *Gracias a Dios*, under the name of *Castilla del Oro* or *Golden Castile*, without any mention being made in these grants of *Diego Columbus*, to whom those countries of right belonged, on account of their being discovered by his father.

Each of these adventurers fitted out two vessels, with which they sailed to *St. Domingo*, in *Hispaniola*, where they quarrelled about their respective rights; but their disputes being at length adjusted, they left that island in the latter end of the year 1510. *Hojeda* took on board *Francis Pizarro*, who afterwards conquered *Peru*, and in a few days arrived at *Caramari*, since called *Carthagena*, where the *Indians* were prepared to oppose him, on account of the injuries they had received from several *Spanish* adventurers, who, under the pretence of trading with them, had basely seized, carried off, and enslaved several of the natives.

These people were of a large stature, the men wore their own hair down to their ears; that of the women was very long, and both sexes were very expert at shooting with the bow. *Hojeda* immediately sent them a few Priests, with some of the *Indians* of *Hispaniola* who spoke their language; these messengers had orders to persuade them to be peaceable, and submit to the *Spanish* yoke, and to leave off their idolatry, cruelty, and other vices; though *Hojeda* resolved, in case they proved obstinate, not only to make war upon them, but to make them slaves.

Hojeda began to barter with them for gold, with *Spanish* toys; but finding they were preparing to attack them, fell upon them, made a

great slaughter, took some prisoners, and found a small quantity of gold in some of the towns of which he made himself master. He then marched to a town four leagues within land, whither those had retired who had escaped from the last battle. He found them upon their guard armed with bows, poisoned arrows, rods which they threw like darts, swords made of hard wood, and targets. He however attacked the place, killed great numbers, took 60 prisoners whom he sent to the ships, and continued to pursue those who fled. The inhabitants of a town called *Yarbaco*, hearing of his approach, withdrew with their effects unto the mountains: thither the *Spaniards* came, but finding nobody to oppose them, put themselves off their guard, and dispersed about the country, which being observed by the *Indians*, they fell upon them when they least expected it, and the *Spaniards* being divided into small parties, were every where cut off with flights of poisoned arrows. *Hojeda* however, with several of his men, for some time maintained the fight, often kneeling, the better to cover himself with his target; but at length seeing most of his people killed, he rushed through the thickest of the *Indians*, and running with great swiftness into the woods, proceeded towards the sea in search of his ships. *John de la Casa*, *Hojeda's* pilot and friend, got into a house, where he defended himself at the door till the *Spaniards* who were with him were slain, and himself so wounded as to be unable to stand; when looking about him, he observed a *Spaniard* still maintaining his ground, whom he directed to save himself by flight, and to tell *Hojeda* all that

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that had happened. This advice the man immediately followed; but *Hojeda* and he were the only persons who escaped, all the rest, amounting to 70 *Spaniards*, being slain.

Happily for *Hojeda*, *Nicuesa* now appeared with his two vessels on the coast, and was no sooner informed of what had happened, than he sent for his rival, and generously told him, that in this case they ought to forget their disputes, and only to remember that they were *Spaniards*, and gentlemen, and that he would therefore revenge his loss. They accordingly united, and landing 400 men, marched against the *Indians*, burnt the town of *Yarbaco*, seized a vast number of prisoners, and as much gold as amounted to 7000 pieces of eight to each of the commanders.

After this victory they parted in order to pursue their separate plans. *Hojeda* fixed a settlement on the eastern promontory of the gulph of *Darien*, and gave the town the name of *St. Sebastian*; because that Saint being said to be martyred by the poisoned arrows of the infidels, he thought him a fit patron to defend him from the like weapons of the *Indians*: But finding that the natives were exasperated at his making a settlement on the coast, he sent Captain *Enciso* in one of the ships to *Hispaniola*, with orders to bring him as large a supply of men and provisions as possible, and in the mean time drew intrenchments about the town for his own security. However, as he soon wanted necessaries, he was obliged to make excursions into the country, by which means many of his people were killed by the poisoned arrows of the natives, and the colony was reduced to a most wretched condition

dition; for they had the prospect of being soon famished if they remained within their works, and were sure of meeting with death if they ventured out of them.

Just as the *Spaniards* were reduced to despair, they with equal joy and amazement beheld a ship enter the port. It belonged to a pirate, named *Bernard de Talavera*, and *Hojeda* immediately buying the ship's cargo, treated the Captain with such civility, that he readily entered into his service: but notwithstanding the greatness of this unexpected relief, their provisions were soon consumed; the *Indians* became more troublesome than before, and no favours arriving from *Hispaniola*, they were again reduced to despair.

In this extremity, it was at length resolved that *Hojeda* himself should sail to *St. Domingo*, in order to procure supplies; therefore leaving the colony under the command of *Francis Pizarro*, he embarked on board the pirate vessel, and put to sea; but now behaving haughtily to Captain *Talavera*, the latter not only deprived him of all command, but clapped him in irons. A dreadful storm however arising, the crew, depending on his skill, set him at liberty, and by his direction saved their lives, by running the ship ashore on the coast of *Cuba*, from whence there is a short passage to *Hispaniola*: But *Talavera* not daring to go thither, prevailed on *Hojeda* to venture a voyage with him to *Jamaica* in a canoe, which they were so happy as to perform.

After a short stay at *Jamaica*, the Governor, at *Hojeda's* desire, sent him to *St. Domingo*, where

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where he found that Captain *Enciso* had set sail for *St. Sebastian's*; but his own credit was there so low, that notwithstanding his being one of the bravest men that ever sailed from *Spain* to *America*, he soon died for want, and *Talavera* staying too long at *Jamaica*, *Columbus* caused him to be apprehended, tried, and hanged for piracy.

In this interval, *Pizarro* with the men under his command quitted *St. Sebastian's*, and steered to *Carthagena*, where they had the happiness to find Captain *Enciso*, who had just arrived there with two ships, and a considerable reinforcement, and immediately returned with them to *St. Sebastian's*; but there they had the misfortune of being shipwrecked, and of finding the town reduced to ashes. They however rebuilt it as well as they were able; but though they saved out of the stranded vessels, as much of the provisions and other necessaries as possible, they were soon again reduced to the utmost distress by war and famine, and, as before, hunger frequently forced them out, while the natives constantly drove them back with the loss of some of their men: but from this terrible distress they were relieved by the dexterity and presence of mind of a very extraordinary man brought by *Enciso*.

Nunez or *Nugnez de Balboa*, a person of a good family, great abilities, and a liberal education, had formerly sailed along that coast with *Bastidas*, and had afterwards obtained a good settlement in *Hispaniola*, where having committed some irregularities, he was in danger of being put to death. In these unfortunate circumstances

stances he caused himself to be put on board *Enciso's* ship in a bread cask, and after having remained there four days, ventured at last to make his appearance, when the ship was an hundred leagues at sea. The Captain, who had been ordered not to carry any offenders out of the island, was extremely vexed at seeing him, and threatened to set him on shore in the first desert place he came at; but the principal persons on board interceding for him, *Enciso* was at last pacified, and granted him his protection, which however did not efface, from *Nunex's* memory, the usage he had received.

This person, observing that the company were in despair and knew not how to act, endeavoured to encourage them, by maintaining that they were not in so desperate a condition as they imagined; observing that when he was upon this coast before, with *Bastidas*, they sailed to the bottom of the gulph, where they saw a very large town, situated in a fruitful soil, and in a fine climate; that it was indeed inhabited by warlike *Indians*; but as they did not make use of poisoned arrows, he advised them to get off their stranded brigantines, and endeavour to sail thither.

This advice being approved was immediately followed; and they sailed to the river called by the *Indians*, *Darien*, where having viewed the place, they found every thing according to his description. The inhabitants and their Cacique, being informed that the *Spaniards* were coming, secured their wives and children, and with 500 men waited for the invaders on a little hill; but the *Spaniards* fell upon them, soon put them to flight,

flight, and then proceeded to the town, which to their great joy was full of provisions. The next day they marched up the country and the neighbouring mountains, and found many houses, but no inhabitants, they being all fled. They however seized vessels, household goods, short petticoats of cotton, great quantities of cotton, both spun and unspun, and about 10,000 pieces of fine gold.

The success of this enterprize gained *Nunex* much reputation, and he began to be in very high esteem. It was now unanimously agreed to settle a colony there, and to call it *Santa Mariael Antiqua del Darien*, or *St. Mary the Ancient of Darien*. The first being the name of a church at *Seville*, and the latter the *Indian* name of the river.

Nunex now secretly contrived, in concert with his friends, to depose *Enciso*; who himself soon forwarded this scheme, by giving orders that no man should trade with the *Indians* for gold, upon pain of death; which raising a suspicion that he intended to monopolize the trade of that valuable metal, they threw off all subjection to him, alledging that his authority was expired. They now chose Magistrates like those in *Spain*; *Nunex de Balboa* and *Zamadis* were elected *Alcaldes*, and *Valdivia* was appointed *Regidore*; but soon disliking this form of government, new debates arose, which were terminated by the arrival of *Roderic Henriquez de Colmenares* with two ships, with provisions, military stores, and 70 men on board.

This officer, who was carrying supplies to *Nicuesa*, had put into a port at 50 or 60 leagues distance from this place, and sending his men on shore to take in water, they were suddenly attacked by 70 *Indians*, who wounded 45 of his people

people with their poisoned arrows, and staved the boat. The *Spaniards* however swam to the ships, tho' all of them died of their wounds, except one. Seven of the *Spaniards* however hid themselves in a great hollow tree, in order to swim to the ship at night; but those on board supposing they had been slain, set sail for the bay of *Uraba*, or *Darien*, in search of *Nicuesa*. *Colmenares* meeting no body on the east side of the bay, where he expected to have found either *Hojeda's* or *Nicuesa's* men, he was much surprized, and suspected that they were all dead; he however caused some pieces of canon to be fired, and fires to be lighted on the tops of the rocks, which being observed by the settlement at *Santa Maria*, they made signals, upon which he came to them, as we have already related, and generously distributing his provisions among them without distinction, brought them to agree to send for *Nicuesa*, in order to make him their Governor.

We shall now return to *Diego Nicuesa*, who, after his leaving *Alonzo de Hojeda*, whom he had so generously assisted, met with a violent tempest, when *Lopez de Olano*, his lieutenant, perceiving the ships separated, formed the design of setting up for himself, and leaving his patron to shift as he could; but this failing, he sailed to *Veragua*, the place of rendezvous, where he endeavoured to persuade the people to abandon their original design, and to return to *Hispaniola*, alledging that *Nicuesa*, and the men on board with him, had doubtless perished. Mean while a shallop entered the port with four men on board, who brought advice that *Nicuesa* had been stranded upon an unknown coast; and having marched a great way
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with incredible fatigue, was now on shore with his followers in a most miserable condition. At hearing this news *Olano's* heart relented, and he immediately dispatched the shallop with provisions and refreshments, which saved *Nicuesa* and his men from perishing with hunger: but this seasonable relief did not in the least soften that Governor's resentment against his Lieutenant, whom he put in irons, and threatened to send him in that condition to *Spain*.

Nicuesa now settled a colony on the banks of the river *Belem* or *Bethlehem*; but soon became in such want of provisions, that leaving only a part of his men there, he sailed with the rest to *Porto-Bello*; when the *Indians* not suffering his people to land, he was obliged to steer two or three leagues farther to the port called by *Columbus* the *Bastimentos*, and as soon as he entered it cried out *Paremos aqui en il Nombre de Dios*; that is, *Let us stay here in the name of God*; whence the place was called *Nombre de Dios*. Then immediately landing, he began to erect a fortress.

Nicuesa, being soon reduced to the same situation as in the former colony, was obliged to send one of his vessels to *Hispaniola*, to intreat *Columbus* to grant him some assistance; but scarce was this vessel sailed, when that with *Colmenares* arrived with the above message. This Captain was so amazed at seeing *Nicuesa* and his people lean, ragged and bare-footed, that he could not forbear shedding tears, especially at hearing how many had died, and the great disaster they had sustained, and therefore immediately endeavoured to comfort *Nicuesa*, by telling him that the people of *Santa Maria* desired he would come and govern them,

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that they possessed a pleasant and fertile country, had plenty of provisions, and were in no want of gold.

Nicuesa, now recovering his spirits, returned thanks to heaven for this unexpected news; but soon forgetting his own miserable condition, and that these people had voluntarily made him an offer of becoming their Governor and Protector, he was so imprudent as publickly to declare, that he would take all their gold from them, and punish them for landing within the limits of his grant. Nor was this his only error; for being desirous of viewing some islands that lay in the way, he suffered a caravel to sail before him, in which were persons who acquainted the colony with these ungenerous expressions; upon which they changed their resolutions, and resolved not to suffer him to come among them.

Nicuesa, having spent eight days among the islands, was greatly surprized on his anchoring at the landing place at *Santa Maria*, to find many of the *Spaniards* on the shore, and at his being ordered by one of them, in the name of all the rest, to return to *Nombre de Dios*. He desired they would hear him, and for that purpose the next day came on shore, when the people attempting to seize him, he escaped by flight. *Nicuesa* now intreated that in case they would not accept him for their Governor, he might be at least admitted as a companion; which they refusing, he begged they would keep him as a prisoner, since he had rather die than go back to starve at *Nombre de Dios*. But notwithstanding this, they cruelly forced him and about 17 of his men into an old rotten bark, with orders

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to return to the place from whence they came, on pain of being sunk where they were. There is no doubt of their having complied with this inhuman order, but with what success is uncertain; for they were never seen afterwards. A story was however current in the *West-Indies*, that the *Spaniards*, on their coming to settle themselves in *Cuba*, found the following inscription cut on the bark of a large tree. *Here the unfortunate Nicuesa finished his miseries and his life together.*

After the departure of this unhappy man, *Nunex de Balboa* distinguished himself as a prudent Governor; he made great discoveries; was the first *European* who saw the *South Sea*, and prepared the way for the conquest of *Peru*. As his history has therefore a close connection with that conquest, we shall place it immediately before our account of that great event.



CHAP. III.

Diego Columbus sends Diego Velasquez to plant a Colony in Cuba. A Description of that Island.

THOUGH the governments bestowed upon the above adventurers, were so many violations of the just rights of the Admiral *Don Diego Columbus*, he was very much blamed for not endeavouring to assist them to the utmost of his power, and his enemies made use of this complaint at the court of *Spain*, which always looked upon him with jealousy, and therefore readily listened to any accusation brought against him. Of this the Admiral was so sensible, that he left no stone unturned to secure to himself those countries to which he had just pretensions, from the contract made with his father.

Being informed at the beginning of the year 1511, that the court was very desirous of having a colony planted in the great island of *Cuba*, he resolved to be before-hand with them, and to send a body of men thither under the command of a person whom he could trust; that having a Lieutenant there of his own, the court might have no pretence for making a grant of it to any more adventurers, as they had done of that part of the Continent discovered by his father, and even of the island of *Jamaica*; which however he had recovered. For this purpose he made choice of *James Velasquez*, the wealthiest and

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and most esteemed of all the first *Spanish* inhabitants of *Hispaniola*.

Before we proceed, it may not be improper to observe, that the province of *Guatiaba* lying next to *Cuba*, and the distance between the two points being only 18 leagues, many of the *Indians* of *Hispaniola* had passed over in their canoes, and among them a Cacique of the province of *Guatiaba*, called *Hatuey*, a man of bravery and prudence, who took as many of his men as possible, and settled on the nearest country called *Mayci*, where he treated the people as subjects, and not as slaves. This Cacique, fearing that the *Spaniards* would one time or other pass into *Cuba*, kept spies in order to know what was done in *Hispaniola*. Being at length informed of the Admiral's design, he assembled the most warlike of his people, and putting them in mind of the many sufferings they had endured under the *Spaniards*, told them that they committed these outrages for the sake of a great Lord of whom they were very fond, and whom he would shew them; then taking some gold out of a little palm-tree basket, added, "This is the Lord whom they adore, him they follow, and as you have already heard, they are coming hither in search of him: let us therefore make a festival and dance to him, that when they come he may order them not to hurt us." They accordingly began to sing and dance; for their dances, like those of *Hispaniola*, were performed to the music of their songs. At length *Hatuey* reminded them, that though they should conceal this Lord of the Christians in their very bowels, the

Spaniards would find him out, and that they should therefore cast him into the midst of the river, which was accordingly done.

The *Spanish* inhabitants of *Hispaniola* were no sooner informed that *Diego Velasquez* was going to plant a colony in *Cuba*, than many of them resolved to accompany him, and about 300 men assembled in the town of *Salvatierra de la Zavana*, at the extremity of *Hispaniola*, in order to embark on board four ships. From thence they sailed in *November* 1511, and landed at a port called *Palina*, in the territories of the Cacique *Hatuey*, who stood on his defence, taking advantage of the woods where the *Spaniards* could make no use of their horses. After two months spent in this manner, the *Indians* concealed themselves in the thickest parts of the forests; but whenever they appeared they were hunted like wild beasts by the *Spaniards*, who carried all they took to *Velasquez*, when that commander distributed them among his men, not as slaves but as servants. *Hatuey* withdrew into the most inaccessible places; but at length had the misfortune to be taken and carried to *Velasquez*, who had the cruelty to cause that unhappy Cacique to be burnt alive: upon which all the province of *Mayci* submitted; for after this inhuman example of severity, none of the *Indians* dared to oppose him. *Velasquez* now began to think of dividing the native *Indians* among the *Spaniards*, as *Obando* had done by those in *Hispaniola*, and for that purpose he founded a town at an harbour in the north side of the island, at a place called by the natives

Barracca,

Barracoa, and here the first colony in the island was settled.

On its being known in *Jamaica* that *Velasquez* was in *Cuba*, many of those who were with *Juan de Esquibel*, *Columbus's* Lieutenant, asked leave to go over and serve under him, among whom was *Pamphilio de Narvaez*, a gentleman well born, who brought 30 archers under his command, and having a graceful person and an easy address, was well received by *Velasquez*, who sent him with his thirty men to the province of *Bayamo*, a fine open country at 50 leagues distance. On the road he and his small party were attacked in the night at an *Indian* town, by a considerable body of the natives; but mounting a mare which he had brought with him, they were so frightened at the sight of that noble animal, and at hearing the bells which at that time were part of the trappings of the *Spanish* horses, that they fled far into the country, and *Velasquez* sending a detachment to join *Narvaez*, he with the greatest ease became absolute master of that province.

The fine and extensive island of *Cuba*, which is situated between 20° . and 23° . north latitude, is upwards of 800 miles in length from east to west, and generally about 70 broad. It lies about 50 miles west of *Hispaniola*, and 75 north of *Jamaica*. To the south are a great number of small islands, to which *Christopher Columbus* gave the name of *the Queen's Garden*, and to the north are a smaller number, which *Velasquez* named *the King's Garden*. The whole island of *Cuba* is very pleasant, and more temperate than *Hispaniola*. On the easternmost point there

there are mountains of a very great height, which extend 90 miles, and through the middle runs a ridge of hills from east to west, from whence very fine rivers and brooks flow down both to the north and the south, through the plain champaign countries which lie on the coast, 'till after a short course they discharge themselves on each side into the sea. It has many fine harbours, particularly on the southern coast, where there are that of *St. Jago* in the form of a cross; that of *Xaquas*, to which the ships pass through a narrow mouth not above a cross-bow shot over, and then turn into the open part, which is about ten leagues in compass, and where there are three small islands, so situated that ships may be fastened to stakes fixed in the ground, under shelter of the mountains, and lie safe from the winds blowing from any part of the compass. On the north side are also several good harbours, the best of which is that now called the *Havannah*.

When this island was first planted, it was so covered with woods that a person might travel near 690 miles under trees of various sorts, and particularly red cedars, out of the trunks of which the natives made canoes able to contain 50 or 60 persons. They had also storax trees, and wild vines, the stems of which were as thick as a man's body, and a variety of fruit trees; yet there were greater quantities of *Indian corn* here, than in any other part of the *West-Indies*. At the arrival of the *Spaniards* it was stocked with abundance of birds, particularly a sort of pigeons, partridges, flamingoes, and parroquets; of these last there were infinite multitudes

titudes, which when young were esteemed excellent food: there were few land animals, except a kind of rabbits, like those in *Hispaniola*; but on the other hand there were abundance of excellent tortoises or sea-turtle, and both the sea and rivers abounded with plenty of fish.

After the *Spaniards* had been settled there some time, they found considerable quantities of gold in the rivers, some of which was very pure, but the greatest part was of less value than that of *Hispaniola*, or *Porto Rico*. Tho' the original inhabitants were very numerous, they have been long since destroyed by the cruelty of the *Spaniards*. *St. Jago* in the south part of the island is esteemed the capital; but the *Havannah* on the north-west is by far the most considerable place, on account of its trade, and its being the annual rendezvous of the galleons on their return to *Spain*.



C H A P. IV.

The Discoveries made on the Continent, under the Command of Diego de Velasquez, by Francis Hernandes de Cordova his Lieutenant. The Misfortunes Cordova meets with, and the Hardships he suffers 'till his return to Cuba, where he dies.

DON Diego or James de Velasquez, having reduced the best part of *Cuba*, and planted several *Spanish* colonies upon that island, began
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to be very desirous of shaking off the authority of Admiral *Diego Columbus*, under whom he had hitherto acted. The Admiral being now recalled into *Spain* opposed this project to the utmost of his power; but he had so little influence at that ungrateful court, that he was unable to carry his point; for though *Velasquez* was still left accountable to him for the exercise of his authority, yet he was not allowed to recal him without the consent of the crown, which so well answered *Velasquez's* purpose, that he resolved immediately to execute a project he had long meditated of fitting out ships for making discoveries; and no sooner were his intentions known, than numbers of the *Spanish* planters, who were grown rich, offered to contribute large sums towards carrying it into execution, among whom was *Francis Hernandez de Cordova*, a person of great wealth and bravery, who offered to go as Captain, which was granted.

Cordova, having fitted up two ships and a brigantine, took 110 soldiers on board, and sailed from the *Hawannah* on the 8th of *February* 1517. After being twenty-two days at sea, during which they lay by in the night, they saw land, and from their ships observed a large town at about two leagues from the coast. As they drew near, two canoes full of men appeared; the *Spaniards* hailed them; and thirty *Indians* went on board the Commodore dressed in jackets without sleeves, and with pieces of cloth wrapped about their waists. The *Spaniards* gave them meat, wine, and strings of beads, after which the *Indians* retiring, made signs that they would return the next day with more
canoes

canoes to carry the *Spaniards* on shore, seeming much to admire the ships, the men, their beads, cloaths, arms, and every thing they had never seen before.

The next day the *Indians* returned with twelve canoes, on board of which was the Cacique, who cried out *Conex catocbe*, or *Come to my house*, from whence that place received the name of *Cape Cotoche*. The *Spaniards* then entering their boats and the canoes, took their arms and went ashore, where an infinite number of the natives waited to see them: *Cordova* even resolved to attend the Cacique to his house, in order to take a view of the country; but entering a wood, the Cacique gave a signal, and instantly a multitude of men started from an ambuscade in which they had been concealed. They were dressed in jackets of quilted cotton to secure them from being wounded by arrows, and had wooden swords edged with flint, spears, bows and arrows, slings and targets: their faces were painted of several colours, and on their heads they wore plumes of feathers: these giving a loud shout, discharged a shower of stones and arrows, and then rushing on the *Spaniards*, fought with much resolution, 'till being disordered by the discharge of the muskets and cross-bows, as well as by the sharpness of the *Spanish* swords, they fled, after having 17 men killed, and many wounded. In this action were taken two youths, who afterwards became Christians, and were called *Julian* and *Melchior*.

The *Spaniards* now returned to their ships, and were pleased at their having found people in many respects different from those they had hitherto

hitherto seen, and particularly at their having observed houses built with stone and lime, which were the first that had been observed in that part of the world. They now continued their course along the coast fifteen days, and then entering a bay landed in order to take in fresh water, of which they were in want. This place being by the *Indians* called *Quimpeche*, it from thence obtained the name of *Campeche*. They here filled their casks with fresh water, and were going to return to the ships, when they were met by 50 *Indians*, dressed like those they had seen before, who asked them whether they came from the place where the sun rises, and conducted them to some temples built with stone, where the *Spaniards* observed several deformed idols, with blood fresh spilt, and from one of these temples came two men in white mantles, with long black hair twisted up in rolls behind, and holding in their hands little earthen fire-pans, into which they cast a certain gum, and then perfuming the *Spaniards*, ordered them to depart the country on pain of death; at which they retired in good order to the shore, and returned to their ships.

They now steered six days along the coast, and then landed at about a league's distance from a town called *Potanchan*, where they filled their casks with water; and observed a body of armed men advancing towards them; but it growing dark, they returned back towards the town. The *Spaniards* now rashly resolved to stay on shore; but in the night were greatly alarmed by the noise made by the *Indians*, and at break of day perceived that the first party had been joined by several

several others, and that they were entirely surrounded by a great army. They however resolved to make the best defence in their power, and were quickly under the necessity of exerting all their courage; for it no sooner grew light than the *Indians* discharged a shower of arrows, darts, and stones, by which about 80 *Spaniards* were wounded, among whom was *Cordova*; but at length after a vigorous defence, the *Spaniards*, finding it impossible to vanquish such numbers, made a furious onset, and breaking through the *Indians*, ran towards their boats, whilst the *Indians* pursued them with hideous cries. The boats narrowly escaped being overset by their crowding into them, and the natives were so eager to attack them, that they ran into the water to wound them with their spears. In this action 47 *Spaniards* were killed, five died on board the ship, and all the rest, except one, were wounded. It was therefore resolved to burn one of the ships for want of hands, and to return to *Cuba*.

One of their greatest misfortunes was, their having been obliged to leave their casks on shore, which occasioned their being soon in great distress for want of water, and tho' some of the soundest of the men landed with jars to search for a fresh supply, they could find none but what was brackish; this obliged them to steer for *Florida*, where one of the pilots had been with *Ponce de Leon*. They here landed near a creek, and having posted centinels, dug pits, and finding good water, drank some, and washed linen for the wounded men; but when they were about to return, one of the centinels having stepped aside
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with a hatchet to cut down a palmetto tree near the creek, the other heard him cry out, and instantly ran to give the alarm, crying, *To sea! to sea! the Indians are coming.* Many canoes were instantly seen rowing down the creek, filled with *Indians* cloathed in deer skins, and armed with bows and arrows, swords and spears, who landing, let fly their arrows, and wounded six of the soldiers; but soon perceiving the dreadful effects produced by the muskets and cross-bows, ran back to their canoes, on which the *Spaniards* returned with safety to their ships, where the men were in such distress for want of water, that a soldier leaping into the boat, seized a jar, and drank so much that he swelled and died two days after. In short, after enduring many other hardships, they arrived at the *Havannah*, from whence *Cordova* sent a particular account of his unfortunate voyage to the Governor *Diego Velasquez*, and died of his wounds ten days after.





CHAP. V.

The Discoveries made on the Continent by the Command of James Velasquez, under John Grijalva. They Land in the Island of Cozumel, proceed to New Spain, and defeat the Indians of Potonchan. They then land on the Banks of Rio de Grijalva, where they receive Presents from the Indians. Steering from thence they are invited on Shore by the Mexicans, with whom they trade for Gold. They afterwards visit several Islands; discover Temples with Idols and human Sacrifices; purchase many bright Copper Axes which they mistake for Gold, and return to the Island of Cuba, where Grijalva is disgraced by Velasquez, for not disobeying the Orders he himself had given him.

Notwithstanding Cordova's ill success, his account of this voyage gave great pleasure to Velasquez, who frequently declared that he was resolved to pursue these discoveries as soon as an opportunity offered, since as these seemed more civilized than any other Indians, they were probably richer; and this resolution was no sooner known, than several of the principal inhabitants offered him their assistance, which soon enabled him to send out three ships and a brigantine.

This small squadron was commanded by John Grijalva, and the Captains Alverado, Montejo, and d'Avila, who had strict orders to make what

what discoveries they could, but to attempt no settlements. They sailed from *Cuba* on the 8th of *May*, 1518, and having visited *Florida*, and discovered the island of *Coxumel*, proceeded along the coast of the Continent. Eight days after they reached *Potonchan's* town, and came to an anchor; upon which the natives being elated with their success in driving *Cordova's* men out of the country, took up arms, and ran to the shore, where they stood to hinder the *Spaniards* from landing, shouting and making a great noise with their trumpets and kettle drums. The *Spaniards* no sooner approached the shore, than they discharged a shower of arrows, darts, and stones, and with great intrepidity ran into the water to wound the invaders with their spears; but the latter were no sooner landed, than rushing upon them sword in hand, they made them give way; for the *Spaniards* being now taught by experience, began to use loose cotton jackets like those of these *Indians*, as a defensive armour against their arrows: however three of them were killed and 60 wounded, among whom was *Grijalva*. But the boats coming to their assistance with the remainder of the soldiers who had been left on board, the *Indians* quitted the field, and the *Spaniards* marched to the town, where they found only three of the natives; these they used well, and sent them with some toys to allure the inhabitants back; but these messengers never returned, upon which they embarked and again set sail.

Grijalva now continuing his course by day, and lying by in the night, for fear of falling among flats and rocks, discovered the mouth of a
large

large river, but so shallow that it would only admit small vessels, and therefore they could only send up two of their boats well manned; who were obliged to proceed with great circumspection; on account of there being many armed *Indians* in canoes along the shore.

This river, which the natives called *Tabasco*, the *Spaniards* named *Rio de Grijalva*, from their commander in chief, and landed at a grove of palm-trees about half a league from a town. The *Indians* seeing them leave their boats, about fifty canoes; full of armed men; moved forward, and stopped again at a small distance from the *Spaniards*; upon which the latter sent *Melchior* and *Julian*, the two *Indians* taken by *Cordova*, to inform them that they were come with no other view, but to treat with them about some affairs that would give them pleasure. Upon this the *Indians* in four canoes drew near, and *Grijalva* ordered the above interpreters to tell them, that he and his men were the subjects of a great King to whom mighty Princes paid obedience; that it was reasonable they also should submit to him because it would be much to their advantage; and that 'till the *Spaniards* could explain these affairs, they must furnish them with provisions. To this the *Indians* prudently replied, that they would give them provisions; but that they had a Lord of their own, and knew no reason why they, who were but strangers, should offer to impose a new Lord upon them. However, that they ought to take heed how they made war on them; as they had done on the people of *Potonchan*; for they had provided an army which according to their manner

of computation must amount to 24,000 men. That they knew they had killed and wounded above 200 at *Potonchan*; but that they were not so weak as those people. They concluded with observing, that they were come thither to know their will, and would make a very just report of what was said to a number of very great men, who were assembled either to treat of peace or to renew the war. *Grijalva* then gave them strings of beads, looking-glasses, and other things, charging them to bring back an answer, because if they did not, he must go to the town, though he should not do it any harm. Having thus concluded the conference, he returned to the ships.

These persons having delivered the message, all the Chiefs, who were usually consulted in martial affairs, thought peace preferable to war, and immediately sent a number of *Indians* loaded with roasted fish, poultry, bread, and several sorts of fruit. These being delivered, they laid some mats on the ground, and placed upon them several sorts of very beautiful feather-works. After which they let the *Spaniards* know, that their Lord would come the next day to pay them a visit.

Accordingly at the time appointed the Cacique appeared, attended by many unarmed men, and, without shewing the least jealousy, went on board *Grijalva's* ship. That commander was a genteel man, about 28 years of age, and had on a loose coat of crimson velvet, a cap of the same, with other rich ornaments. He received the Cacique with respect, and sitting down, they began their discourse, of which

both

both parties understood very little, except by words interpreted by *Julian* and *Melchior*. After some time, the Cacique ordered an *Indian* to take out of the trunk he carried, some plate of gold, and thin boards covered with the same metal for armour. These the Cacique himself tried upon *Grijalva*, taking off those that did not fit, and applying others, 'till he had put him on a compleat suit of gold armour that fitted him as well as if it had been made for him. He also presented him various works in fine gold and feathers. In return *Grijalva* called for a very fine shirt, and with his own hands put it upon the Cacique, as he did also his great coat of crimson velvet. He then put on his feet a pair of new shoes; and gave him some of the best strings of beads and looking-glasses, with scissars, knives, and several toys made of tin, some of which he also gave to all the Cacique's attendants. The Cacique's present to *Grijalva* was worth about 3000 pieces of eight, and among the rest were a wooden head-piece, covered with thin plates of gold, and three or four masks, some of which were covered with a sort of stones like emeralds. The sight of these things made the *Spaniards* very eager to settle in a country that produced such vast wealth.

Grijalva having received this considerable present, and being sensible that the *Indians* were not willing that their guests should stay long, proceeded farther, and in two days came to a town called *Agualunco*, which the *Spaniards* named *Le-Rambla*, where the inhabitants appeared at a distance, with targets of tortoise-shell,

which

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which glittering in the sun made some of the *Spaniards* fancy they were made of gold.

Sailing from thence the *Spaniards* saw several other rivers, in one of which they observed the *Indians* waving large pieces of white cloth fastened to poles, as if inviting them to land: whereupon *Grijalva* ordered Capt. *de Montejo* to go on shore with all the musqueteers, and twenty other soldiers, and that in case the *Indians* appeared in a warlike posture, he should give notice; in order that succours might be sent him.

It is necessary to observe, that this coast was part of the great empire of *Mexico*, and that *Montezuma*, who was then seated on the throne, having heard of the exploits of the *Spaniards*, and the pains they took to become acquainted with the maritime parts of his empire, began to grow uneasy; and longed to know why they took such pains to learn the state of countries that did not belong to them. To obtain this intelligence, he had given directions to the Governors of some of these provinces to entertain these strangers civilly, to seize every opportunity of trading with them, and to send him from time to time such an account of their motions as might enable him clearly to discern what opinion he ought to entertain of them, and in consequence of these instructions the *Indians* made signals to invite them on shore.

As soon, therefore, as *Montejo* and his men were landed, the *Mexicans* offered them fowls, bread and fruit, and perfumed the *Spaniards* by burning gum copal in little fire-pans. *Montejo* instantly sent advice to *Grijalva* of the friendly manner

manner in which he was received, upon which that commander came up with the ships, landed, and gave the people some glass beads and necklaces. He was treated with great respect by the Emperor of Mexico's Governor, and his principal officers, who ordering the *Indians* to bring gold to barter, the *Spaniards*, during the six days they stayed there purchased gold toys of several shapes, to the value of 15,000 pieces of eight.

At length *Grijalva* having made presents to the principal persons, and taken possession of the country for the King of *Spain*, in the name of *Diego Velasquez*, embarked, and touched at several islands, and having landed in one of them, with 30 soldiers, found a temple in which were several idols, and four men dressed in long black mantles with hoods, who were the priests of the temple, and had that very day sacrificed two boys, who were found ripped open and their hearts taken out; a piece of cruelty which filled the *Spaniards* with horror and compassion. To this island, which was called *Ulua*, *Grijalva* gave the name of *St. John Baptist*, but it has ever since been called *St. John de Ulua*, to distinguish it from *St. John de Porto Rico*.

Grijalva having staid seven days at this island, during which he bartered for a small quantity of gold, he sent *Velasquez* an account of his discoveries by *Alverado*, with all the gold and other things they had obtained from the *Indians*. *Velasquez* was greatly pleased with the account he received; but *Alverado* having been very desirous of settling a colony, gave him very ill impressions of *Grijalva*; who had served him faithfully, and paid the strictest regard to his orders.

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In the mean time *Grijalva*, by the advice of the other captains and pilots, coasted along in sight of the mountains of *Tuspa*, and afterwards sailed to the mouth of the river *Tarala*, to which he gave the name of *St. Anthony*, and there careened one of the ships that was leaky. While they were here many *Indians* came from the town at a league's distance, with bread, poultry, and other provisions, which they sold for *Spanish* toys: and the news of this traffic being soon spread abroad, others came from *Guazacoallo*, and the rest of the neighbouring towns, bringing provisions, and very bright copper axes with painted handles; the *Spaniards* thinking these axes were gold, purchased 600 of them, and the *Indians* would willingly have parted with more.

While the *Spaniards* were here, a foldier entered a temple that stood in the fields, whence he took the incense called by the *Indians* Copal, the sacrificing knives, and some idols, which he delivered to the commander in chief, after his having first taken off their carvings, pendants, plates, and crowns of gold, worth about 90 pieces of eight: but not being able to conceal his joy at obtaining this booty, *Grijalva* was informed of what he had done, and ordered every thing to be taken from him; but afterwards restored them to him again, upon his paying the fifth to the King.

From this place *Grijalva* set sail for *Cuba*, and in 45 days arrived at the port of *Matancas* in that island, with the value of 4000 pieces of eight in gold, besides what had been brought by *Alverado*; but on their going to pay the duty

of the King's fifth of the copper axes, the purchasers had the mortification of finding them rusty. In this port *Grijalva* received a letter from the Governor, ordering him to hasten to the port of *St. Jago*, and to inform the men that another fleet was fitting out, in order to make a settlement. *Grijalva* obeyed this summons; but, on his arrival at *St. Jago*, met with a very cold reception from *Velasquez*, who had even the folly to abuse him for having so strictly obeyed his orders in not making a settlement. This, indeed, ought certainly to have preserved him from that fate, since nothing but a scrupulous regard to his instructions could confine a man who had made great discoveries, from taking such measures as were most likely to establish at once his fortune and independency. *Grijalva* contented himself with shewing the instructions he had received, which *Velasquez* looked upon as a tacit censure on himself, and gave the command of the fleet to *Hernando Cortes*, which brings us to his celebrated expedition.

End of the First Volume.

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